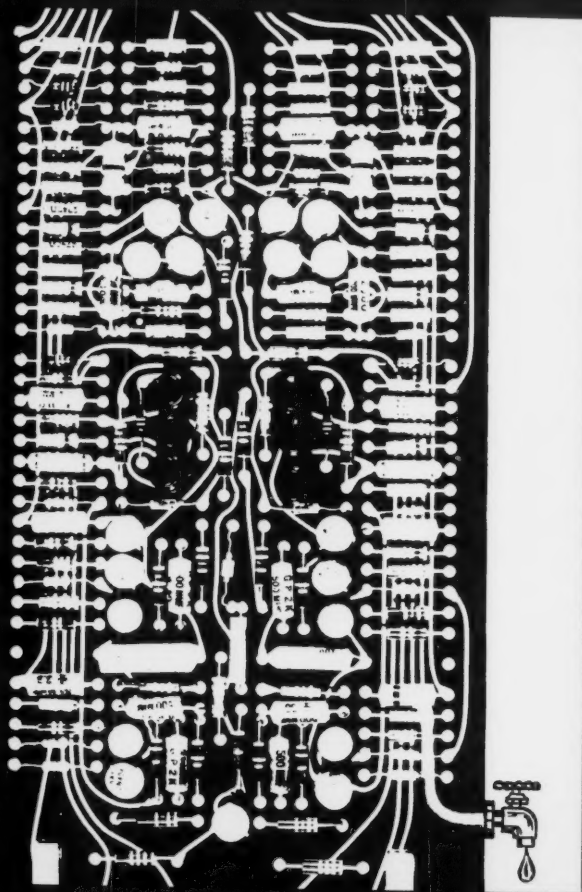


COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW



SPRING, 1967

*Years on a hyperactive journalism in
the world of the 1960s*

*The story of the 1960s, the
1960s, the 1960s*

*Continued to be a major force in
the world of the 1960s*

... to assess the performance of journalism in all its forms, to call attention to its shortcomings and strengths, and to help define — or redefine — standards of honest, responsible service . . .

... to help stimulate continuing improvement in the profession and to speak out for what is right, fair, and decent.

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Spring, 1967

Columbia Journalism Review is published quarterly under auspices of the faculty, alumni, and friends of the Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University.

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Volume VI, Number 1, Spring, 1967. Published four times a year by Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. Editorial and business offices: 602 Journalism Building, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. 10027. © 1967 Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University.

Subscription rates: \$6.00 a year. Single copy: \$1.75. Add 50¢ a year for subscriptions going outside the United States and United States possessions.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

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The sinkable WJT

Like the fabled battleship that slid down the ways and turned turtle, New York's new evening newspaper, the *World Journal Tribune*, capsized on May 5 and sank, leaving 2,600 stunned survivors. The *WJT*, it is true, was not really a new newspaper, for it was freighted with the leftover managements, employees, and traditions of the three predecessor newspapers from which it was formed. Hopes were never high that the *WJT* would become an ornament of American journalism, but it was thought at least that it could run ahead of its one tabloid competitor, and possibly make a little money.

The *WJT* lasted only nine months and was, according to its management, a money-loser all the way. (The deficit in our society is the great leveler of worthy and unworthy newspapers.) The terminal announcement by the *WJT*'s president blamed unions, and indeed it seemed clear that unions had done little to smooth the paper's path, tying it up with a strike for five months before it could publish (thus costing it many of the most ambitious members of its staff), and restricting its hiring and firing to an extraordinary degree. Moreover, when the printers' union gained a high-priced settlement at the *News* this spring, there was no hint that the *WJT* would be let off easier.

All this made a good prima facie case against the unions, who in any event earned no medals for statesmanship. But it cannot be said that the unions scuttled the vessel; the three captains, for whatever reasons, did it. And while union actions are largely on the record, what happened in management has remained secret. Since the end, questions have been raised about what happened on the corporate level.

The reports, all from reliable sources but not confirmed officially, include these:

¶ That the widely disparate aims and standards

of the three partners handicapped — perhaps even doomed — the merged paper from its founding.

¶ That the *WJT* management, though operating an obsolete plant, showed little interest in negotiating for union co-operation in modernization and automation.

¶ That a major determinant in the closing was the inability, under tax law, of the three segments of management to write off the paper's losses against the considerable profits of the parent Whitney, Hearst, and Scripps-Howard organizations. (The losses had to be paid by the three in post-tax dollars, not pre-tax dollars.)

¶ That the Whitney interests, although originally intent on preserving the morning *Herald Tribune* and later eager to have the *WJT* succeed, gradually cooled in each case and eventually stopped picking up their share of the losses.

¶ That the division among the partners of severance-pay obligations was a key consideration.

The existence of these reports stands as a challenge to the widely accepted charge that the unions and the unions alone killed the paper. The full story of all factors needs to be told — as a part of significant journalism history and, perhaps more important, as a vital part of the foundation for efforts to fill the void in metropolitan journalism.

There is ground for hoping that New York may yet have managements and unions enlightened enough to provide it with a choice of well-edited, efficiently produced (which means automated) newspapers, morning and afternoon.

Bright Sundays

Readers of Sunday magazines in newspapers are at last getting a break from the flimsiness or stuffiness that was the norm for so long. Two issues ago, the *Review* called the *Los Angeles Times* magazine, *West*, "tame." That characterization must now be changed, for *West* is increasingly sharply written and even a little subversive

of *Times* editorial policies. *Potomac*, the magazine of *The Washington Post*, and also the once-gray *New York Times Magazine* are plunging into innovation. It is ironic that the fomenters of this revolution, *New York* magazine, founded by the *Herald Tribune* in 1963 and later carried on in the successor *World Journal Tribune*, has now disappeared from the Sunday scene. The efforts under way to establish it as a separate publication deserve to succeed.

The Karafin case

Harry J. Karafin operated in real life the kind of racket that — fortunately for the newspaper business — has usually cropped up only in B movies. He used his power as an investigative reporter for *The Philadelphia Inquirer* to collect from those who might be exposed by his stories. His ingenious variations on this gambit led to an income from “public relations” fees that multiplied many times his modest *Inquirer* pay. He lived in a style to which Philadelphia reporters have been unaccustomed.

Or he did so until March 2, 1967, when his paper discharged him. The immediate cause was Karafin's effort, via lawsuit, to stop publication of an article about him in a local magazine called *Philadelphia*. The *Inquirer* gave him his severance pay and *Editor & Publisher* carried a routine personal item to the effect that Karafin was entering the public relations field.

Judging from the time that lapsed before anything further happened, the *Inquirer* would gladly have let the matter drop at that point. But *Philadelphia* came out on April 4 with its article, a highly detailed exposé of Karafin's complicated involvement with a variety of rackets. A day or so later, *Time* magazine started digging into the story, as did *Newsweek*. But the two uninvolved Philadelphia papers (one under the same management as the *Inquirer*) and wire services did not.

Not until April 10, when it became clear that the story would get national publicity, did the *Inquirer* put its own reporter on the story. Once this step was taken, the *Inquirer* was committed

to a unique self-exposure — public confession that its top investigative reporter had abused his paper and his profession. It did the job with a vengeance — a long story that was “a brutal, public interment,” as *Philadelphia* magazine called it. It borrowed freely from *Philadelphia*'s story, but did not credit the magazine by name. The *Bulletin* and the *Daily News* remained silent.

Before the Karafin case is forgotten, newsmen in Philadelphia and elsewhere might ask themselves what it meant. Why did a theoretically competitive paper not touch the story? Is news about newspapers still a special category? What does it say of a paper's standards that manipulation on Karafin's scale can be carried on through its news columns? How free are other papers of such enterprises? If the newspaper business is fortunate, these questions may be more annoying than substantial. But they should be asked.

Book vs. Speech

A speech by Lee Loevinger, a member of the Federal Communications Commission, has come to constitute the broadcasting industry's quasi-official reply to the book by Fred W. Friendly, *Due to Circumstances Beyond Our Control*. The Commissioner has delivered it twice before trade groups, and the trade press has given it detailed, enthusiastic coverage. Its most prominent appearance before the general public was in a full-page advertisement in *The New York Times* on April 24, where it was placed by seven broadcasters.

In part, the speech is directed personally against Friendly, formerly a president of CBS News and now a consultant with the Ford Foundation and a colleague of the *Review*'s editors at the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism. The speech's personal reflections on Friendly will not be discussed here. They have been adequately answered already by Jack Gould of the *Times* and by Senator Tydings of Maryland.

What seems worth asking is whether the seven broadcasters who bought the ad had a clear idea what the speech said — indeed, whether they had read it in its entirety before they put their names to it. These seven are not from the Neanderthal wing

PASSING COMMENT

of station ownership, far from it. They all run stations affiliated with CBS, four of them serving on the network's affiliates advisory board. As a group, their stations rated high in use of network news and public affairs programs in the *Review's* study of spring, 1966.

Such men, it would appear, take their stations' news and public-affairs functions seriously. How can they find themselves, then, on the same side as Loevinger? Do they agree that Friendly's position on the Fulbright hearings was that "people should watch what he thought would be good for them rather than what they wanted to see?" Do they subscribe to "the Loevinger hypothesis" that television's chief educational effect comes through its commercials? Do they believe in Loevinger's condescending description of television as "automated daydreaming"?

It appears, rather, that these estimable broadcasters allowed themselves to be alarmed by the book and seduced by Mr. Loevinger's oft-stated position that broadcasting can do with little government regulation. Unfortunately, at the same time they have underwritten what amounts to ridicule of what they have stood for in their industry.

The Pulitzers again

In the spring, 1966, issue the *Review* suggested that the Advisory Board on the Pulitzer Prizes, whose home is at Columbia, consider steps that could lead to a more open procedure for awarding the prizes. Among the changes suggested was one that the board consider face-to-face discussions in arguable cases with the juries that make the initial recommendations.

It is possibly only happenstance that a year later such a lack of discussion has led to argument over and, ultimately, to depreciation of two of the major journalism prizes. In one case, the board

overrode a recommendation of a jury that Harrison E. Salisbury of *The New York Times* receive the international reporting prize for his journey to Hanoi and gave it to the jury's second choice. In the second, the board ignored a jury's recommendation and gave the prize to two reporters nominated in another category, thus bypassing a nomination of Drew Pearson and his partner, Jack Anderson, for the national reporting prize. These decisions, right or wrong, were apparently made with the same lack of communication that had long marked the prize procedures.

It was hardly any surprise when jury members — for example, Paul Sann of the *New York Post* — complained in print, for they understandably considered their professional judgment the equal of that of the board members. The board, of course, had only the advantage of weighing the entire range of prizes, not necessarily of superior wisdom. Unless it can learn to deal with minimum courtesy with its colleagues on the juries, there is bound to be reluctance on the part of journalists to subject themselves further to such embarrassment.

Darts and laurels

¶ The Providence *Evening Bulletin* was filled with high resolve when it offered "in its entirety" a story from *The New York Times* describing a dispute between the *Journal* and *Bulletin* publisher and a columnist over Viet Nam. An editorial note said that the paper wanted "to provide an independent report on a controversial situation within these newspapers." Which was fine, except that the paper then dropped two paragraphs from the *Times* story describing the publisher's position and inserted two paragraphs of its own.

¶ Local effort: WVAM, a thousand-watt radio station in Altoona, Pennsylvania, outdid itself in January with its "Awareness Explosion" — a twelve-hour forum on Viet Nam.

¶ The fatal profession: Why do newspapermen seem to get more and bigger obituaries in newspapers than any other segment of the population?

News as a byproduct

What happens when journalism is hitched to
great, diversified corporations?

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

Anyone who reports out of Washington has to develop a taste for mimeograph paper and its usual cargo of agency English, an aberration of the native tongue combining the styles of the Victorian novel and real estate deeds.

One day this spring the diurnal tonnage of government paper included one innocent-looking specimen of 176 pages, printed single-space on both sides, labeled, "Federal Communications Commission . . . ABC-ITT MERGER PROCEEDINGS." Most of it abandoned the patois of the bureaucracies to raise the issue of corporate conflict-of-interest in journalism.

In fact, this spring saw an extraordinary crop of government actions involving the business operations of the press. The Department of Justice obtained a consent decree against the Lindsay-Schaub newspaper chain, which it had accused of violating antitrust law by cutting ad rates, taking an intentional \$3,000,000 loss between 1956 and 1963 in an attempt to swamp a competitor in

Champaign-Urbana, Illinois. The department said the chain offset its loss by profits from its other papers, just one of which, an a.m.-p.m. twin in Decatur, Illinois, with less than 65,000 combined circulation, made more than \$5,000,000 during the same period.

The Antitrust Division of Justice obtained this decree while waiting for a final judgment in its Tucson case, where it has accused two one-time daily competitors of illegal collusion. During the same cherry-blossom period it began trial on its charge that the *Los Angeles Times's* acquisition of a \$15,000,000 paper in San Bernardino violated the law.

There continued private murmurs in the Department of Justice asking whether the syndicate business violates antitrust law by selling wide-area exclusive rights in popular features to big papers to the disadvantage of small ones.

During this same period there was dropped into the Senate hopper S.1312, a bill of sweeping exemptions of newspaper mergers and joint operations from all antitrust action if one of the newspaper parties "appears unlikely to remain or become a financially sound publication." It thoughtfully vacates all past convictions. Even the lobbyists who got through last year's Bank Merger Act, the most sweeping exemption in history, look

With this article, Ben H. Bagdikian resumes his "Washington Letter" series, which appeared in the Review from 1962 through 1965.

upon S.1312 with respect. The bill is co-sponsored by fifteen prestigious Senators of all ideological shades, whose chief bond is that they all come from states with papers in joint operations that could be affected by the Tucson case.

S.1312 was referred to Senator Hart's subcommittee on monopoly, which may or may not hold hearings. This equivocal prediction is based on the remarkable evaporation of past proceedings on this subject. Those of Representative Celler suddenly stopped in 1963 and have not been heard from since.

Horizontal, vertical, conglomerate

The important issue in the organization of journalism is not business monopoly or giantism in themselves, though these are vexing problems, all the more complicated because the press has an obvious right to protect its business interests. The central issue is how monopoly influences the flow of independent news and commentary.

The action this spring took on overtones of geometry and geology. There was talk of mergers that are horizontal — that is, a marriage of direct competitors, as when the *New York Journal-American* joined the *World-Telegram*; and of mergers that are vertical — consolidation of firms involved in different stages of an operation, as when *The New York Times* bought a half-interest in a paper mill in Kapuskasing, Canada. There was also mention of conglomerates ("that which is heaped together in a mass or compacted from various sources"), the common control of largely unrelated businesses. For example, the parent company of the *Los Angeles Times* has twenty wholly-owned subsidiaries that do a variety of things like printing local telephone directories, manufacturing goods, operating in real estate, selling Bibles, and publishing the *Times*.

Such talk gained added meaning when the Supreme Court in the Proctor & Gamble-Clorox case made it plain that antitrust action may be applied to conglomerates even when no direct competitors are involved. (A key argument by the court was the advantage giants like P&G have in newspaper discounts to big advertisers, a point reported blandly if at all in most papers.)

All of these actions defied two of the more solemn pieties among publishers.

One piety is that news companies are under constant siege by hostile government agencies using every possible device to bring the press to heel. The fact is that government in all its branches is more hesitant to apply restraints against corporate transgressions of the press than it is against any other segment of the American economy. It would be nice to think that this comes from a delicate regard for the First Amendment. But there is a broad area of antitrust, anti-monopoly, postal, and tax law that is applicable without infringement of the First Amendment; yet the press is traditionally permitted to go farther and is reprimanded more gently than are other enterprises. The basic reason is that no one likes to make enemies with the town crier. If the press and the government are in conflict, it is the press that explains it to the public, or decides whether to mention it at all.

The other piety is that the news apparatus is not influenced by its profit-making activities, including advertisers. It is. Romantics continue to insist that the press is somehow corrupt for making a profit at all, which is to misunderstand a source of the strength of the American press. Another stereotype sees the advertiser as a censor of all the news, which, at least in the printed press, is not true. But this does not mean that there are no serious problems in corporate influence in the news. The reaction of dailies, magazines, and broadcasting to news seriously damaging to tobacco, automobile, and pharmaceutical industries, but plainly in the public interest to see, are good examples. In no such case was there an absolute or permanent blackout. But in each case the level of verification and of public concern had to be higher for these profit-sensitive news subjects than it is for other news. David R. Bowers of Texas A&M in the spring, 1967, *Journalism Quarterly* found in a survey that publishers most often intervene in newsroom decisions "in areas which conceivably might affect the revenue of the newspaper directly or indirectly" and that publishers did this more than they did "in social issues such as politics, race, labor or war. . . ." The incidence of such influence in broadcasting is so

epidemic that advertisers regard control or choice of content as a "right."

Conflict of interest in journalism has almost always been concerned with the individual reporter and editor, where the problems are, admittedly, real enough. In a recent issue of *The Bulletin* of the American Society of Newspaper Editors a number of editors debated about reporters who cover politics and also get involved in politics, sometimes for pay. Ed A. Fitzhugh of *The Arizona Gazette* said, "Moonlighting for politicians is taboo; it smacks too much of clandestine support for cash. No matter how you rationalize it, in both the public eye and in the eye of the employing politician, the newsman *does* represent the paper." It is the only sound approach to reportorial independence and public confidence in that independence; not enough reporters and editors resist moonlighting that compromises it. Employers ought to pay their men enough and then insist they take no pay from possible news sources.

Corrupting an institution

But what about corporate moonlighting? The reporter who trims his stories to favor his non-journalistic interests corrupts his own stories. The owner of a press organization who does it corrupts an entire institution. If enough institutions are influenced by the same pressures, then the entire body of public knowledge and social values is distorted.

This is what made the 176 pieces of mimeograph paper from the FCC such a pregnant package of the fertile spring. The first twenty-two pages consisted of an order by a majority of the FCC permitting the biggest broadcast merger in history, between International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation and the American Broadcasting Company (or, technically, allowing transfer of ABC's seventeen stations to ITT; the FCC has no jurisdiction over who owns the network but the seventeen wholly owned stations are crucial to the deal).

The remaining pages were devoted to the dissenting opinions of three commissioners, 118 of

them from Commissioner Nicholas Johnson.

For a time, this new Johnson was the most noticeable man of that name in Washington. He is a 32-year-old lawyer in the hell-raising tradition. He asks irreligious questions in simple declarative English and his dissent was primarily responsible for reopening the case.

Among Johnson's reasons for rejecting the merger was ITT's deep financial involvement in areas which ABC News would have to report. ITT has commitments in forty countries and its officers have said that they protect these interests by obtaining sympathetic policies in Washington.

Johnson wrote: "Chile, Peru, Brazil or India might someday wish to nationalize the telephone companies which ITT now owns in whole or in part. It has happened to ITT in the past and could easily happen again. ABC News and public affairs personnel would have to comment on the affair at length. If one admits the possibility that such nationalizations could be put in a favorable light, the potential for conflict with ITT's economic interest is obvious."

What would happen, he asked, if a rebel movement in Brazil got sympathetic treatment in an ABC news documentary that the government of Brazil tried to block? "The added leverage which the government of Brazil could exert because of ITT's Brazilian holdings would be substantial."

ITT gets 40 per cent of its domestic revenues from defense and space contracts. What if ABC wanted to criticize the high rate of this spending?

Johnson asks, "Are we to accept... that although ITT may continue to exert pressure as an advertiser on the programming of CBS and NBC, it will exert none as an owner on the programming of ABC?"

This last worry was sharpened on April 20 when reporters for *The New York Times*, AP, and UPI were subpoenaed to testify on ITT's alleged "extraordinary" efforts to influence news about the merger hearings. Eileen Shanahan of the *Times* testified that the senior vice president of ITT for public relations made "accusatory and nasty" remarks about her stories and asked her "if I didn't feel a responsibility to the shareholders who might lose money as a result of what

I wrote." ABC drove the point home by having its affiliates ask members of Congress in their districts to support the merger. It is a dull politician who doesn't wonder if his access to constituents through broadcasting isn't at stake.

Aggressive and inept pressure is nothing novel in news coverage but it does raise the interesting question of what can happen when a reporter or editor is pressured not by an outside force but by his own employer. Or by an outside force with financial influence, as when complaints about some UPI wording in its ITT-ABC stories brought out that ABC pays UPI \$250,000 a year for various services.

The issues raised by Commissioner Johnson cast light on the ITT-ABC type of conglomeration that already exists with NBC and CBS.

NBC is owned by Radio Corporation of America, which also has substantial foreign investments (one subsidiary alone, NBC Enterprises, operates in ninety-three countries), is the leading international telegraph company, owns RCA Victor records, Random House books, a drug company (Hoffman-LaRoche), and a car rental firm, Hertz. (ITT owns Avis.)

CBS, according to filings at the Securities and Exchange Commission, has thirty-nine major subsidiaries, fifteen of them in foreign countries, owns Columbia Records, and Fender Musical Instruments. It told stockholders in 1965 that it was working to increase its defense and space orders. It owns no car rental service but SEC records show that in 1965 CBS invested \$21 million in the credit affiliates of General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler. At its recent annual meeting it reported increased investment in toys, the acquisition of book publisher Holt, Rinehart and Winston, and denied plans to merge with Curtis Publishing.

Although diversification and conglomeration create sufficient problems of economic power, the central concern here is with the impact on news when it is controlled by corporations with deep financial involvements of a non-journalistic nature. We are seeing a shift from journalism companies that moonlight in other work to conventional businesses that happen to moonlight in journalism.

It is a problem looked at only spasmodically, as when a Fred Friendly quits his network. Or

when competitors complain that RCA color television gets special breaks on NBC. Or when CBS is suspected of firing a sports announcer because he said unkind things about the CBS subsidiary, the New York Yankees.

Specific stories influenced by specific business interest cannot tell the whole story. Each network and most publications can point to individual productions detrimental to their business investments. Most of them reject outright bribery or crass coercion. One of the greatest exposés of all time was *The New York Times's* destruction of Boss Tweed's gang, accomplished after the publisher, George Jones, in 1871, turned down an offer of \$5,000,000 to suppress the stories. This was pretty crude. Today a syndicate of lawyers and brokers could use the money to get control of a corporation to buy an offending news medium, not just knock out one series of articles.

Minutes for Trujillo

There have always been ingenious ways to buy influence in the news. Just before World War II the Japanese government secretly took over control of a 100-year-old respected journal, *The Living Age*, in which it planted its stories. It created a newsletter that went to every American editor. It bought silent, secret interests in *Current History*, *North American Review*, and *The Saturday Review of Literature*.

Rafael Trujillo regularly bought himself into American news during his dictatorship in the Dominican Republic. He spent \$2,000 a month with International News Service to have INS move Trujillo propaganda, masquerading as news, into American newsrooms. In 1959 a Trujillo agent handed \$750,000 to the president of Mutual Broadcasting System in return for a promise of fourteen minutes a day of pro-Trujillo material on the network.

These were successful transactions but they are not at the heart of the conflict-of-interest problem. It is true of individual reporters and just as true of their employers that the worst corruption is self-imposed; the expedient, profitable, or comforting bias is rationalized as news.

For more than fifteen years after 1911, the elder Hearst used all his communications agencies

to provoke a war between Mexico and the United States. His papers ran headlines like, MEXICO PREPARES FOR WAR WITH U.S. He owned the International Film Service, which made films about Mexican plots to overthrow the American government. In the 1920's he ran in all Hearst papers a spectacular series based on documents showing Mexico had bribed four United States Senators with \$1,115,000.

Most Hearst readers had no way of knowing that the Hearst family owned 2,500 square miles of Mexican mines, timber, chicle, and ranches that were threatened with government seizure.

When the bribery of the Senators was investigated it turned out to be untrue; the documents Hearst had paid for were primitive fakes. The *New York Herald Tribune* for January 7, 1928, quoted a Treasury Department handwriting expert: "Anybody who would pass a consideration for these documents must have been in a very acceptable mood."

Most of Hearst's biographers, including W. A. Swanberg, think that when he printed them Hearst honestly believed the documents to be genuine. That is the point: he suffered the human tendency to be "in a very acceptable mood" about anything that supported his private interests.

Newspapers and magazines have these moods. They are generous in their coverage of anti-billboard activities. They seldom muckrake their leading advertisers, such as department stores or car dealers. Most reporters and editors know that the system is in "a very acceptable mood" about news that favors the system's financial interests.

Only occasionally do the more explicit influences come to the surface. During the 1964 presidential campaign the fiercely pro-Goldwater *Manchester (N.H.) Union-Leader* delivered an astonishing rebuke to Goldwater for criticizing Jimmy Hoffa. It turned out that the Teamsters had \$2,000,000 in the *Union-Leader*. Joseph Kennedy put \$500,000 into the ailing *Boston Post* at about the time the paper switched its support to John Kennedy.

Monopoly in communications decreases the chances that an interested party will notice and call attention to corporate conflicts in the news. The Hederman papers in Jackson, Mississippi,

have done incalculable harm to their state by incitement of destruction and malice and they have also been accused of serving the owners' non-journalistic investments. Their last competition ended five years ago.

The Wilmington, Delaware, papers belong to the du Ponts and have been used to protect company and family interests. The *Houston Chronicle* and *Post* are also handmaidens of the ruling oligarchy, which controls much of downtown Houston. In both Wilmington and Houston the distortions to favor owners' interests became known only after tough editors quit or were fired.

But competition is hardly a guarantee of mutual monitoring on the corporate level. There is competition for ads, circulation, and even news in Houston, Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Francisco but it stops short of the executive suites.

Owners frequently respond explosively to questions about corporate conflict in the news. This could be because an owner is truly disinterested, or that he twists the news focus but it is so natural it seems to him true reality. Or he could be thinking of the virtuous as typical of the whole trade. There are publishers and there are publishers. One owner of a daily in a Florida city owned substantial real estate in the town and sold it to avoid any possibility of inhibiting his paper's freedom, and those who know this can point to it as proof of incorruptibility. But there was also a publisher in Connecticut who owned real estate in his city, most of it substandard, and fired a new city editor who ordered an investigation of slums. There are relatively few news staffs that cannot — privately — tell variations on this theme.

Need for reality

The crux of the issue is not the specific bias. It lies in the fact that journalism is more important today than any time in the past. The human race is better educated and equipped with more efficient communications. Dynamic interaction — in communities, in the country, throughout the world — is in response to some kind of communication, usually a form of journalism. If this communication does not reflect reality as rigorously as trained and independent professionals

can produce, then the consequences can be profound, and already have been. More than ever journalism needs to be not only accurate but has to be looking at the most important issues.

The ultimate question in corporate conflict-of-interest in the news is whether news and commentary as a whole would be different if news corporations had no outside financial interests. And if different, whether it could come closer than it does today to the needed improvement in reporting and relevant commentary. The resolutions of most urgent issues — war and peace, the growing chasm between rich nations and poor, decay of cities, inadequacy of schools, race relations, contamination of environment — depend on allocation of national wealth, which means both social policy and taxes. If the news and its interpretation are increasingly merely a byproduct of huge corporations whose primary concern must be conventional gain then this is not a minor matter in public information or in the development of social and fiscal policies.

Nevertheless, diversification and conglomerates seem destined to grow: they make too much

fiscal sense. In the process more news operations will become appendages to conventional businesses. It is not illegal to include news in a conglomerate. One long-term remedy is the development of professionalism and strengthening of the tradition that helps put a wall of separation between front office and newsroom and to seal the present porosity.

Another could be to inform the public of any news organization's outside financial interests, which might restrain corporate interference with news and at least notify the consumer. Something like this is required of all companies traded on the stock market, but relatively few newspapers and broadcasting stations are openly traded. Yet systematic and locally available reports of this kind would be therapeutic. Publisher opposition would be not much more than 99 per cent, and since universal press disclosure would require an act of Congress, it may be necessary to wait for an act of God. Yet the questions asked by Commissioner Johnson of ITT can be fairly asked of every conglomerate corporation that owns a journalistic enterprise.

A bad precedent?

Excerpts from "Managing the News?" an article by Fred L. Zimmerman on the editorial page of *The Wall Street Journal*, April 17, 1967:

[ITT's] controversial plan to take over American Broadcasting Co. is being reexamined now by the Federal Communications Commission. One explosive question at the FCC hearings is whether ITT, because of its wide-ranging business interests here and abroad, would tamper with ABC's news coverage if the greater glory of the parent company were deemed at stake.

In view of ITT's promises that this will never happen, the company's involvement in press coverage of the merger proposal itself is worth remarking. These unreported activities of the past few weeks establish not only that ITT is extremely sensitive about news reports concerning the company but that it will make unusual efforts to shape the reports to its liking.

"It's incredible that guys like this want the right to run ABC's news operation," says one reporter, relating the irate call his editor got from ITT.

"We've been dissatisfied with some of the coverage," counters an ITT public relations man. "Some of it has been incomplete and unfair."

ITT's press lobbying seems to have hit a peak in

February, when the commission was deliberating whether to reopen the proceedings. Late that month, an ITT official told an interviewer he and other ITT officials had been complaining to *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, and United Press International about various news stories concerning the merger. ABC, it's understood, had complained to the Associated Press and also to UPI.

The night the FCC announced it was delaying the effective date of the merger to consider new evidence from the Justice Department, an ABC official is understood to have called the Associated Press in New York to complain about a story moving on its news wire from Washington. The Washington reporter was in the middle of his sixth paragraph when ABC's request that the first paragraph be changed was relayed to him. He refused to change it.

That a company should seek to influence news coverage of its activities isn't unique, but veteran Washington newspapermen consider the extent and intensity of ITT's efforts extraordinary. A hallmark of big companies like ITT is a sophisticated PR policy. Their press agents employ the suave softsell, knowing ("I used to be a newspaperman myself") that if they push too hard they'll alienate the journalists they're trying to influence. But there's been no polish or subtlety about ITT's campaign; it's been a frontal assault.

A new analysis of monopoly and competition

By GUIDO H. STEMPEL III

The decline of competition in the daily newspaper field in this century is well documented and much discussed. But as the newspaper has faced decreasing competition in its own field, it has been faced increasingly by competition from the broadcast media. The 2,202 newspapers of 1910 were the mass media of their time, so far as day-to-day coverage was concerned. Today, however, the daily media include 5,657 radio stations and 773 television stations as well as the 1,764 daily newspapers.

Likewise, the competitive picture today includes all three media. Radio and television have been to some extent a factor in the decline of newspaper competition. They have attracted advertising and have won the confidence of a segment of the American public as conveyors of news. They have served the same functions as newspapers and have drawn to a degree on the same resources.

And while having a radio station and newspaper in competition may not be the same as having two competing newspapers, still the presence or absence of such competition is significant.

To determine the extent of inter-media competition, we have analyzed the information about ownership of all U.S. daily newspapers in the 1966 *Editor & Publisher Year Book* and all U. S. radio and television stations in the 1967 *Broadcasting Yearbook*. Our main interest was to determine whether or not there were competing media in the 2,947 American communities that have any mass media.

We defined competing media as two media originating in the same community but owned by different people. Thus a community which has a newspaper and a radio station both owned by

the same person was considered not to have competition. A community with two radio stations owned by different people was considered to have competition. The key question was the number of ownerships.

This is a narrow definition of competition because it ignores competition from out-of-town media. However, out-of-town media seldom provide competing news and opinions in local issues, and this we feel is the vital consideration.

We found that 1,418 of the 2,947 cities with mass media have competing media (48 per cent). This is mainly because of competition between the three different types of media rather than competition within any of the three types. Only 5 per cent of the cities with newspapers have competing newspapers, while 28 per cent of the cities with radio stations have competing stations and 40 per cent of the cities with television stations have competing stations.

In twenty-four states there are more cities with competing media than cities with a single ownership. Rhode Island has the highest percentage of competitive situations (78 per cent) with seven of nine cities with having competition. Oklahoma is close behind with 71 per cent. Maryland and Utah are low with 25 per cent. Nine of Maryland's thirty-six cities with media and four of Utah's sixteen cities with media have competition.

Population seems to be a determinant of whether there can be competition, and 10,000 seems to be the critical size. Of the cities of less than 10,000 which have media, only 25 percent have competing media, while of the cities between 10,000 and 20,000 which have media, 71 per cent have competing media. Of the cities of more than 200,000 which have media, 83 per cent have competing media.

Historical patterns of media development also have something to do with the extent of media competition. In particular the establishment of newspapers in communities of less than 10,000 has been more common in some states than others, while the development of radio stations in such communities has been more constant. What this does to the media competition in a state can be seen by comparing Oklahoma and South Carolina, both of which have 2.3 million population.

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Forty-six cities in Oklahoma have newspapers, while only twelve in South Carolina do. However, sixty-two cities in South Carolina and fifty cities in Oklahoma have radio stations. While all South Carolina cities with newspapers have radio stations, that still leaves fifty cities with radio stations and no newspapers. That is the main reason that forty-four of the sixty-two cities in South Carolina with mass media have single ownership. In Oklahoma, with about the same number of cities having newspapers as have radio stations, there are only nine such cities.

When single ownership is discussed, it is usual to point out its implications for newspapers. Yet the local monopoly problem is much more radio's problem. Of the 1,515 communities with single ownership of the media, it is radio that is the medium in 1,302 or 85 per cent. To put it another way, radio has a local monopoly in 44 per cent of the cities in this country that have any local media.

There seem to be two implications of these patterns of competition. One is that there is a remedy at hand for the much-discussed problem of newspaper monopoly. In 88 per cent of the cities in which a newspaper operates without competition from other newspapers it does have competition from broadcast media. If that competition in a given community is not significant so far as local news and opinion is concerned, it is perhaps time the public demanded that it become significant. The opportunity for significant competition exists.

Secondly, the responsibility of operating the only voice in town rests rather heavily on the shoulders of radio. Most radio stations operate without competition from other radio stations and nearly half operate without any competition at all. The importance of a serious approach to informational broadcasting by such stations can hardly be overstressed.

Although the growth of broadcasting is continuing, it seems likely that most new stations will go into either communities that already have competition or communities that have no media. That would mean that the proportion of communities with competing media is not likely to rise. Yet we can draw some comfort from the fact that there are 1,418 communities today with media competition, about twice the number fifty years ago.

Competition state by state

Table shows number of cities in each state with daily newspapers, radio, or television and the percentage that have competing media:

	Number of cities	% with competition
1. Rhode Island	9	78
2. Oklahoma	55	71
3. Vermont	12	67
4. Nevada	9	67
5. Iowa	56	66
6. Indiana	88	62
7. Colorado	37	62
8. Nebraska	31	61
9. Ohio	114	60
10. Kansas	57	60
11. New Mexico	30	60
12. Michigan	91	59
13. New Hampshire	19	58
14. South Dakota	19	58
15. Missouri	72	57
16. Massachusetts	56	57
17. Pennsylvania	141	56
18. Connecticut	32	56
19. North Dakota	16	56
20. California	172	55
21. Montana	26	54
22. Arkansas	60	52
23. Illinois	116	51
24. West Virginia	39	51
25. Florida	107	50
26. Alaska	10	50
27. Arizona	25	48
28. Texas	189	47
29. New York	119	46
30. Hawaii	9	44
31. Mississippi	54	43
32. Washington	53	43
33. Wyoming	21	43
34. North Carolina	113	42
35. Minnesota	64	42
36. Wisconsin	78	41
37. Oregon	44	41
38. Idaho	28	39
39. Kentucky	78	36
40. New Jersey	44	36
41. Tennessee	85	35
42. Georgia	100	34
43. Virginia	87	34
44. Maine	27	33
45. Delaware	6	33
46. Louisiana	55	31
47. Alabama	79	29
48. South Carolina	62	29
49. Maryland	36	25
50. Utah	16	25
TOTAL	2,947	48%

NOTE: The District of Columbia, with one city has 100-per-cent competition.

The Dodd case: those who blinked

By ROBERT YOAKUM

I: The national press

If ever a man had reason to be grateful to the press, that man is Thomas J. Dodd, the senior United States Senator from Connecticut and a recent arrival in the tiny ranks of solons who have been investigated and officially rebuked by their peers. There have been no signs of gratitude in Dodd's harsh words, though, which simply demonstrates that his past treatment from newspapers and reporters — whether in Washington or Connecticut — was so uncritical that the Senator never learned what American journalism is about, or supposed to be about.

Before reviewing press coverage of the Dodd story — or, more exactly, the lack of coverage — let's look at Dodd's coverage of the press. On the eve of this year's hearings before the Ethics Committee (Select Committee on Standards and Conduct), Dodd gave a long, emotional speech in which he provided figures on his finances and said bitterly that he had been condemned to "trial by press." And on the final day of the hearings, the Senator said that the press had been "mighty unfair to me," by which he may have meant that a few papers had pointed out that the figures he had furnished in the earlier speech had turned out to be wrong.

Robert Yoakum has been covering the Dodd case for several magazines and for his book on ethics in America.

Dodd's anti-press blasts aren't new. For many years he has said that communists or their dupes have great power in American journalism. "I can always tell when I'm hurting the communists, because the whole red network lights up," he used to tell his administrative assistant, James Boyd. The "red network" was made up of such papers as *The New York Times*, *New York Post*, *Washington Post*, *Providence Journal*, and *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, according to Boyd. At one time or another Dodd has blamed "hoaxes" by news media for the downfall of Mihajlovic, Chiang Kai-shek, Batista, and Diem. None of the press controls or investigations suggested by Dodd as a solution to this problem has caught fire, even with the conservative columnists and papers that usually applaud him.

There are many of these. Dodd has had his detractors, as anyone knows who has read any of the more than fifty columns on his unethical activities by Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson. But this article will focus on the people and publications that *didn't* go after the story. It will deal with those who showed no interest in pursuing clear leads to other unethical activities, or in prodding the Ethics Committee into a wider and deeper inquiry, or in comparing Dodd's practices with those of fellow Senators, or in the basic task of bringing the facts to those millions of citizens who don't have Pearson and Anderson available.

One of the steamiest columns ever written on the Dodd affair came from the typewriter of William S. White on April 15 of this year and it had nothing to do with the Senator's ethics. White ignored the quarry and went baying off after Dodd's former employees who had copied some 6,000 documents (the 4,000 figure usually mentioned was early and incorrect) in order to document their charges against him. The four employees were Boyd, Dodd's administrative assistant and alter ego; Michael O'Hare, office manager and bookkeeper; Marjorie Carpenter, Dodd's

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personal secretary; and Terry Golden, another secretary.

White said that the ex-employees "now 'demand' more airings" by the Ethics Committee — a puzzling word to put in quotation marks, since their polite letter to the Ethics Committee uses only "we ask your indulgence in stating our opinion," "ask," and "request." And why should White list one of the former staff members as Miss "Terry" Golden, since Terry is her real name? It may be only that he never bothered to find out, for he never interviewed them, but it does have the effect of giving the quartet an even greater air of illegitimacy by making the serious Miss Golden sound like a burlesque queen.

The letter to the Ethics Committee from the ex-employees took up nearly half a page in *The Washington Post*. It was a gift handed to newsmen, studded with stories that could be followed up without the use of purloined papers. The letter listed examples of favors Dodd had exchanged with industries he was supposed to have been investigating, often as committee chairman: motion picture, broadcasting, firearms, insurance, electrical, and drug. It listed several examples of "monetary contributions and other personal gifts from businessmen or other groups for whom he has performed official services," a practice which, like Dodd's habit of diverting campaign funds to his own bank account and not paying taxes on them, is illegal as well as unethical. It listed several people for whom Dodd had sought or obtained government jobs and from whom Dodd had received money or non-interest-bearing loans. It listed law clients for whom Dodd had intervened with the government.

There was another section of that letter in which William S. White should have been particularly interested, since his daughter Lucia was on the taxpayers' payrolls in Dodd's office (as Cia S. White) for \$535.98 in the summer of 1965. That section dealt with payroll-padding and

other unethical employment practices. For example, Dodd put not only his own two sons on the Senate payroll but also the sons of two officials of the two broadcasting companies (NBC and Metromedia) for whom he performed favors as chairman of the committee studying violence on television.

He so stuffed the Juvenile Delinquency subcommittee staff with patronage appointees, or with people who worked exclusively for Dodd himself, that there were usually only about eight qualified people at work full time on committee business out of a staff of twenty-five.

A Dodd man from Yale, William F. Buckley, Jr. — one of the Senator's long-time backers — wrote a column on April 1 that would have caused his city editor (if he had ever had one) to send him back to the police beat (if he had ever been on one). Buckley said charges against Dodd had collapsed, which they hadn't, and he mentioned, among others, those "involving petty extractions from Connecticut merchants in return for petty favors." The column was printed after this year's hearings, so Buckley knew that the extractions sometimes involved thousands of dollars, that the favors were often worth far more than that to the companies, and that these favored companies were from all over the nation. Buckley had a rare chance to probe for the truth in Dodd's year of self-imposed silence when the Senator consented to be interviewed on Buckley's television program, but the columnist preferred to play straight man, and he missed one of the biggest stories of the year.

John Chamberlain has ground out at least four columns defending Dodd, which is not surprising for a writer who plugged his home-state Senator for the vice-presidency. ("Could Lyndon Johnson have a better man at his elbow than one who can add X-ray eyes to all the other qualifications needed to balance a ticket?") Morally, I thought the high-water mark of the recent defensive Chamberlain efforts was this: "It would have been better public relations procedure if Tom Dodd had kept his testimonial funds and his personal funds compartmentalized. . ."

Generally the liberals have lined up to damn Dodd and the conservatives to praise him — or to

let him defend himself as a guest columnist, as Holmes Alexander did last September. But, if the conservatives have blushed and turned away, or jumped to Dodd's side, the liberal columnists have not pressed him hard. That is, with the exception of Pearson and Anderson, of course, who have pressed many congressmen hard.

There are more than 1,400 correspondents milling around Washington, several hundred of whom are bona fide employees of wire services, newspapers, magazines, and broadcasting companies, paid to relay tidings of interest to readers, listeners, and viewers throughout the nation. It must be assumed that a corrupt Senator is a tidings of interest, i.e. news. But from the first Pearson-Anderson column on January 24, 1966, until the hearings, which began in June 1966, the four former employees were interviewed only by Sarah McClendon, representing Texas newspapers, James Canon of the Gannett Newspapers (including *The Hartford Times*), Ben A. Franklin and E. W. Kenworthy of *The New York Times*, Dom Bonafede and Andrew Glass of the *New York Herald Tribune*, John H. Averill of the *Los Angeles Times*, Robert Walters of *The Evening Star* of Washington, Jerome S. Cahill of *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, and Thomas Collins of *Newsday*.

The wire services were no more energetic than the newspapers; the AP's stories were normally based on leads developed by others, and the UPI's dispatches often sounded as though they had been processed in Dodd's office. ("For eight years, he has been one of the most respected members of the Senate," a UPI background story reported inaccurately in April, 1966, compounding the error later in the piece by referring to Dodd as "... a man respected for his views on foreign affairs." *The New York Times* reported more accurately on April 30, 1967, that Dodd "never seemed to play much of a part in the Senate.") The wire services were unable to spring even one of their 141 Washington reporters to interview the ex-employees who had the story.

Dodd got a few plugs and very little static from the broadcasters. This might be the place to bring up one example of the symbiotic relations that were sometimes established. In 1964, on the eve of the Democratic national convention in Atlantic

City, a Metromedia vice president and television producer, Mark Evans, introduced the vice-presidential hopeful Dodd as "uncannily successful" in predicting foreign policy. Evans undoubtedly did not know that Dodd had pocketed the travel fare and expenses given him by Metromedia for the broadcast (Dodd's campaign fund actually paid the bills), but he may have known of the many favors extended to Dodd by Metromedia, including a \$500 campaign contribution made by Metromedia's chairman and president, John Kluge. And he may also have known that Dodd had halted a Juvenile Delinquency subcommittee staff investigation of Metromedia.

Nor will the magazines of America be able to do much pointing with pride. The newsmagazines flubbed the story at the outset. And even later on, this year, when *Newsweek* and *Time* showed signs of doing some digging on their own, the coverage remained superficial. With the exception of some brief items, the large-circulation general magazines ignored the Dodd case.

Again it is instructive to go back to the convention year of 1964 to see how far magazines, like broadcasters, strayed into symbiosis. The *Reader's Digest* timed a eulogistic article, "Crusader from Connecticut," by Eugene H. Methvin, to go on the newsstands when it would most have helped Dodd's vice-presidential ambitions or his campaign for re-election to the Senate.

Boyd, who wrote most of Dodd's award-winning articles and speeches over the years (all this came out in the 1966 hearings), says that Dodd had editing privileges on the *Reader's Digest* piece. Among other things, Dodd didn't like a sentence saying he looked "like an Irish leprechaun," so it was eliminated. (He did not object to the descriptive phrase "his finely chiseled Irish jaw ...") And he didn't like another sentence saying that his mother had stood him on a tub in the kitchen to teach him the art of advocacy. Dodd thought that made his family look like shanty Irish, so, like a leprechaun, he changed the tub to kitchen table.

"Crusader from Connecticut" (subtitled "Hard-headed, hard-working Senator Thomas J. Dodd fights a non-stop battle for freedom — at home and abroad") was used as campaign litera-

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ture, understandably, and 300,000 reprints, purchased from the *Reader's Digest* at less than a cent apiece, were mailed to voters throughout Connecticut.

No one will ever know, probably, whether the DeWitt Wallaces felt disillusioned when they learned this March that Dodd was paid \$329.33 by the Senate to cover a round trip to Los Angeles made in March, 1965. Senate voucher No. 486 said that the trip was made for the Juvenile Delinquency subcommittee. The same trip was also paid for, however, by the *Reader's Digest*, which not only gave Dodd the \$329, but also provided a \$500 honorarium for his speech before something listed in the Ethics Committee stipulations as the Food Industry for America Organization.

II: The Connecticut press

For those who look to journalistic enterprise at the local level to preserve our democracy, there is not much good news from Connecticut in this accounting, which covers the period up to the Ethics Committee report at the end of April, 1967. In a burst of self-criticism as rare in journalism as an enforceable code of ethics in a legislature, the publisher of *The Hamden Chronicle*, Charles B. Lenahan, wrote a column in mid-April entitled, "Connecticut's Silent Press." The weekly's publisher had just returned from a visit to Saigon. He wrote:

... Senator Dodd was spread all over the front pages of such disparate papers as *The Bangkok World*, *The Saigon Post*, Hong Kong's *South China Post*, and Tokyo's *Asahi Evening News*. This was a bigger story in the English language press of the Far East than it evidently was in the Connecticut press.

This is a condition that has existed from the beginning of the Dodd revelations. . . . There is no doubt that the State press has

held back on the Dodd story. The question is why.

... The most charitable thing that can be suggested is that Connecticut's newspapers wanted to give their own Senator every benefit of the doubt. Some, of course, have a genuine respect for the Senator and his anti-Communist zeal. These newspapers would tend to be more charitable to Senator Dodd's predicament.

Others might be just lazy about it, and a few might deliberately look the other way regardless of how compelling the facts of the case might be.

Whatever the reason, the newspaper-reading public of this state has been subjected to a remarkable example of non-reporting, of quite self-conscious evasion of an important public matter.

My questions to Connecticut editors in a telephone survey were based on the assumption that the perfect daily, when the editors learned of the serious charges against Dodd, would have peppered its Washington correspondent, stringer, or wire service with queries; begun an investigation of Dodd's office in Hartford, which was deeply implicated; obtained interviews with the disillusioned employees, with Dodd's present staff members who were mentioned in the hearings, and with the Senator himself; found out whether state laws had been violated, and, if they had been, pushed for their enforcement; written indignant editorials; interviewed some of the people who had attended the dinners from which Dodd netted more than \$150,000 tax-free dollars to see whether they intended their contributions as personal gifts; interviewed political leaders; sifted the dinner and 1964 campaign lists for the names of businessmen, union leaders, or others for whom Dodd has been in a position to perform favors; followed up the fascinating leads that emerged with the March, 1967, hearings, in the book of stipulations that is now available in the printed report of those hearings, and in the April letter from the ex-employees; printed the text of that letter (as *The Washington Post* did, for one); and, for the past year and a quarter, kept the entire staff alert to the fact that one of the biggest political scandals in Connecticut's history was in the making.

I have gone on with this list at such length because it is an almost precise account of what Connecticut papers, judging from information from the dozen I called, did not do.

There were almost no queries to sources in Washington; Dodd's Hartford office, like his Washington office, was undisturbed by the Connecticut press; only one Connecticut newspaperman interviewed the former staff members, all of whom were available; the State's Attorney, John D. LaBelle, who was himself on the list of Dodd financial supporters, was left in peace, even though he refused to explain his decision not to act on apparent violations of the law (the only exception I know about was *The Bridgeport Herald*, which challenged LaBelle last year); editorials, with few exceptions, were tepid and infrequent; few papers reprinted out-of-state editorials, although there were hundreds of them. Apparently no Connecticut paper even reprinted the three editorials from the three Washington newspapers, all of which, during or shortly after the recent hearings, called on Dodd to resign. One would have thought this unanimous view from the nation's capital to be of great interest to Connecticut voters. (Excerpts from the three editorials were printed in a weekly, the *Newington Town Crier*; *The Waterbury Republican* printed parts of one.) One weekly conducted one poll; I know of no paper that carried on systematic interviews with people who attended the dinners, political leaders, or favor-seekers who had made contributions; and, finally, if some paper is hard at work on a major exposé based on the facts made available this spring, it has managed to keep it quiet.

Six Connecticut papers — two dailies and four weeklies — take the Pearson-Anderson column and only one of the dailies and two of the weeklies carried all of the columns dealing with Dodd. The one daily, *The Waterbury Republican*, also ran more wire service news stories, editorials, cartoons, and reprints of editorials than any other Connecticut paper I know about. They have neither a correspondent nor a stringer in Washington, but the editorial page carried at least two locally written columns on Dodd, one dealing with Connecticut angles to the story.

The Willimantic Chronicle is the daily that

dropped some of the Pearson-Anderson columns about Dodd — an action that got them in a bind when a news story came along on February 25, 1966, that they had to run: "Senator Dodd Requests FBI Probe Columnist Charges." The story referred to two Pearson columns that had not appeared in the *Chronicle*, so the eighth paragraph was a bracketed, boldfaced — and somewhat shame-faced — "Editor's Note: The Pearson-Anderson column is published in many newspapers throughout the country, but not all subscribers to the column publish every one received. The deletion of the Pearson-Anderson articles sometimes occurs because other columnists and writers are offering comment more germane to the issues of the day."

A month later the *Chronicle* editor, Ray Martin, took offense when William H. Haddad, former reporter for the *New York Herald Tribune* and the *New York Post*, said at a University of Connecticut seminar that the state's papers had whitewashed Dodd instead of investigating him. "You can read more about the Dodd case on the front page of any of the country's newspapers in one day than has appeared in all of the Connecticut newspapers since the controversy began," Haddad said.

Martin's column, "Here and There," questioned Haddad's own ethics, linking him to the hiring of some Washington reporters to moonlight for the Office of Economic Opportunity, of which Haddad was then Inspector General. Here are some excerpts from the rest of the column, which should hold an honored position among those millions of pages of copy devoted to defending non-reporting:

There's an old saying which goes something like this: Where there's smoke, there is fire. On balance, this is basically true. However, one cannot exclude the old trick of calling attention to one fire while a professional arsonist is at work at another spot.

Martin then referred to Haddad's "mighty harsh words," and continued:

At this juncture, I am reminded of the biblical injunction — let him who is without sin cast the first stone. And frankly I don't

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think Haddad is that Simon Pure that he should be casting stones so freely. But let's get to his stones.

... I fail to note that Haddad made a point of telling his University of Connecticut audience that only two newspapers of Connecticut's 22 dailies carry the Pearson column — and the *Chronicle* is one of them. [Maybe Haddad was being kind to the *Chronicle*. Wouldn't it have been worse to say that the *Chronicle* was taking the Pearson-Anderson column, but had killed several of them dealing with Dodd?]

Smoke and stones notwithstanding, the *Chronicle* opened up somewhat on news about Dodd after that, but then returned to the earlier policy of killing off many stories that might harm Dodd. A wire service story, which had already been set in type, was jettisoned a few days before the report of the Ethics Committee.

One final and somewhat mysterious note on the *Chronicle's* coverage of Dodd: on June 24, 1966, *The Christian Science Monitor* ran an editorial called "Nothing But the Truth." By a funny coincidence, a nearly identical editorial was run the same day in the position regularly occupied by the *Chronicle's* own editorials. The first paragraph of the editorial follows for the benefit of *Chronicle* readers who thought they were getting fresh local thoughts. *Chronicle* emendations are in brackets.

We have no [desire or] intention of prejudging Senator Dodd of Connecticut [Connecticut's Senior United States Senator, Thomas J. Dodd]. Nor do we intend to prejudge the Senate's Select Committee on Standards and Conduct, which has now begun [public] hearings on the [so-called] case. But we do confess to having been disturbed [But, frankly, we do admit to having been disturbed] by suggestions that the Dodd case will be treated with that famous "senatorial courtesy." For this [This] "courtesy" has far too often in the past been merely a euphemism for the shutting of senatorial eyes to collegial peccadilloes.

Not the least of the mysteries is why Mr. Martin, or whoever selected the *Monitor* piece for such close emulation, chose something so antagonistic to the Dodd position.

America's oldest paper, *The Hartford Courant*, was as spry as its age (203 years) in reporting the Dodd case. The *Courant* maintains a full-time Washington correspondent, Robert D. Byrnes, who has been with the paper for over forty years and in Washington about twenty-five. Byrnes broke no new ground, however, not even bothering to interview the employees who defected. The home office did no better. Local angles were multitudinous — Dodd's home office is there, so is his law firm, and so are several industries with whom Dodd traded favors, not the smallest of which is insurance — but the *Courant* missed it all.

In April, 1967:

¶ The *Courant* didn't carry the letter from Dodd's ex-employees to the Ethics Committee, which would have interested so many people in the Hartford area, since the names of so many local firms appeared in it, but it did carry the committee's answer the following day.

¶ The *Courant* didn't carry the Washington papers' editorials calling for Dodd's resignation, but it did put Dodd's reply to *The Washington Post* on the top of page one.

¶ The "censure vs. condemnation" story that leaked out of the Ethics Committee on April 18 was given a small head and four paragraphs on page one of the *Courant* in contrast to a two-column head and six paragraphs (plus a Pearson column) in the *Long Island Star-Journal* (which I plucked from the newsstand at random), and a page one, twenty-three paragraph story in *The New York Times*.

A former *Courant* reporter, John Atticks, now managing editor of the *West Hartford News*, said, "They've done a dreadful job on the Dodd story, but not just on the Dodd story. Nearly everything they handle shows it to be an establishment paper that doesn't want to get embroiled in sensitive issues like Dodd's ethics. And one reason is the active policy role played by the publisher [John R. Reitemeyer] whose conservative views, especially on foreign policy, exactly match Dodd's."

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Jack Anderson said in an interview. "But it was, after all, a Connecticut story. And even after the papers began to carry the story, late and seemingly with reluctance, they didn't do any follow-up on their own. In some cases they seemed positively eager to carry the Dodd side of the story, which would have been fine if they had carried the charges against him in the first place."

One reason for the inaction in Washington is old and familiar — the symbiotic relations that develop between newsmen and their sources. Dodd, like every Senator, had found many occasions when he could give news to a reporter from his state to their mutual benefit. Reporters are not eager to eliminate their best source of supply for the only commodity in which they deal.

In Connecticut many explanations have been given for what almost no one has tried to defend — the failure of the press to use its energy, talent, and influence in an all-out effort to learn the truth about charges that one of the state's Senators was corrupt.

There are, indeed, many reasons, but they can be summed up in the term "Afghanistanism," which was employed by Edward W. Barrett, Dean of the Columbia School of Journalism, to describe newspapers that "find local corruption and abuses too delicate to handle and compensate by lambasting waste in Washington, UN failures, and the government of Ghana . . . they ignore a grafting police commissioner but wax belligerent over an event on the far side of the globe."

It's true that Adam Clayton Powell is more colorful than Dodd, but even so the vigor of the investigation and editorial attack on Powell contrasts strangely with the absence of these elements in coverage of the Dodd story. It begins to look like a classic case of Afghanistanism when one remembers that Dodd's legal and ethical breaches in Congress were more numerous and involved powerful figures, giant industries, big advertisers, and a great deal more money.

Can a Congressman sue a columnist?

By DONALD R. SHANOR

In the view of Drew Pearson, Representative L. Mendel Rivers, the South Carolina Democrat who is chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, is an alcoholic and a security risk. Pearson and his associate Jack Anderson set forth this thesis in a series of syndicated columns in February and March. The columns said former aides and military officers had seen the 61-year-old Rivers drunk in Washington and abroad. Pearson related stories of Rivers in his undershorts in a London hotel corridor, Rivers' office safe open and surrounded by empty bottles, Rivers importing case-loads of Scotch in Air Force planes, and Rivers being sent to Bethesda Naval Hospital to dry out. "Congress," Pearson concluded in his column of February 28, "permits an alcoholic to preside over the Armed Services Committee and the CIA Watchdog Committee, privy to the nation's most vital secrets, which he may blab the next time he gets drunk."

Rivers' version is different. "I don't drink," he says.

The stage would seem to be set for a textbook libel case. If defamatory statements are published, and the person defamed denies them, then there is a trial. Witnesses are heard, evidence presented, and, in most cases, determination is made of who is right. But the textbook has been changed since the 1964 Supreme Court decision reversing the Alabama libel conviction of *The New York Times*.

"That doggone Supreme Court decision," as Rivers called it in a telephone interview, greatly

Donald R. Shanor, lecturer in journalism at Columbia, prepared this article with the help of a grant from the Dell Publishing Company Foundation.

broadened the right of the press to criticize public officials, even if some or all of the facts are wrong.

The constitutional guarantees of free speech, the Court found, "require, we think, a Federal rule that prohibits a public official from recovering damages for a defamatory falsehood relating to his official conduct unless he proves that the statement was made with 'actual malice' — that is, with knowledge that it was false or with reckless disregard of whether it was false or not."

Or, as Rivers put it in the soft accents of Charleston, "The Supreme Court decision didn't give Pearson the right to lie, but it did encourage his recklessness."

This article can make no attempt to judge the rights or wrongs of the Pearson charges and the Rivers defense, but it will examine the two versions of the facts in light of the *Times* rule.

The Court made two exceptions to the liberalized rule: attacks on a public official's private conduct are not privileged, and the statements, if untrue, cannot be deliberately or recklessly untrue. "Purely private defamation has little to do with the political ends of a self-governing society," it said of the first condition. In the second, it echoed a Kansas Supreme Court landmark decision of 1908: when charges are made and the whole thing is done in good faith and without malice, the article is privileged, although the principal matters contained in the article may be untrue in fact and derogatory to the character of the plaintiff.

In the Rivers controversy, Pearson might seem to be dealing with the very personal matter of a drinking problem. He conceded this in his February 28 column, but he went on to argue that Rivers' position makes his private life a matter of public concern. "This is a personal tragedy," Pearson wrote, "which might have remained a whisper in Charleston's fashionable drawing rooms, except that [Rivers] has made it a national problem" through his position on the Armed Services Committee and his secret briefings from the Defense Department and CIA. Since the Kansas decision, courts have held that the private and public lives of an official merge, and he "must surrender to public scrutiny and discussion so much of his private character as affects his fitness for office."

The other exception to privilege centers on whether Pearson is embarked on a personal vendetta against Rivers, deliberately disregarding the truth in the process. There is no question that Pearson has consistently opposed many of Rivers' views on defense matters and accused him of abusing his congressional privileges. But Rivers' aides agree that it would be difficult to prove personal malice, unless, as one says, "the writer can be proved to have said some time: 'I'm going to get that guy.' " An examination of Pearson's columns on Rivers for more than a year shows the contrary. The criticism is expressed in terms of how Rivers' behavior affects his performance as chairman of his committee hence, the public interest.

As far as the facts go, both men are firm. Pearson has repeated his charges week after week. Rivers was unequivocal in his denials.

"I never dignify Pearson's lies with any statement," he said. "The people of South Carolina pay no attention to him. The latest lie is something he picked up from the ADA people. It's a tragedy. I get mad as fire. So do my family and my friends.

"I need no defense. I don't drink. I have never taken a drink since I became chairman of the Armed Services Committee. I've got sinus; I can't. I don't smoke for the same reason. These stories are fabrications.

"I get up at 4:30, often come to the office at 6:30. As a boy I got into the habit, delivering papers and milking cows. If I do this, I don't have time to do all the things Pearson says I do."

Although they concede that the *Times* ruling makes it difficult, Rivers and his aides say they are contemplating a libel suit against Pearson. "One of these days, Pearson will put in a wrong word" and provide the opportunity for a suit, John R. Blandford, chief counsel to the Armed Services Committee, said. Rivers said he is being advised to sue because of the security risk charges.

"Notice that Pearson at no time has made any statement, any indication, of any overt act of the Congressman's to give information to the enemy," Blandford said. "Pearson himself has aided the enemy, willingly or unwillingly, many times. But he has never pinpointed just what Rivers is supposed to have done to be a security risk."

One problem in a libel suit, Blandford said, is

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the difficulty of proving that Rivers has been damaged. He has been re-elected without opposition for most of his twenty-six years in Congress.

If the voters of South Carolina's First Congressional District are expected to judge Rivers' security standing, they must do it without local publication of the Pearson charges. The *Charleston News and Courier*, the only major newspaper in that district of Navy installations, ancient plantations, and tidal marshes, does not carry Pearson.

"We regard the Pearson column as unreliable and never have published it," Thomas R. Waring, the editor, said. "He has been printing such stuff for years about Representative Rivers." The paper came to Rivers' defense in a March 23 editorial without saying what he was accused of.

"Whether the campaign is intended as retaliation for his criticism of Defense Secretary McNamara, a diversionary move to draw fire away from Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, or some other political move, is not now clear," it said. It singled out Pearson, Marquis Childs, and other columnists as anti-Rivers, but mentioned the nature of their charges only in a vague way: "In newspapers all over the country, sharp criticism of Mr. Rivers has appeared from these columnists of both official and personal nature. In our judgment, these criticisms have been blown far out of proportion. While nobody is perfect, Mr. Rivers has a good reputation among his colleagues in Congress and his constituents in South Carolina."

The *News and Courier* concluded that the attacks on Rivers were motivated by resistance to the Congressman's defense policies — "national military strength in general, and specifically determined waging of war in Vietnam for the purpose of winning." (Rivers has been a consistent backer of escalation in Viet Nam.)

South Carolina's eleven other dailies were asked how they handled the Pearson criticism of Rivers. Of the four replying, only one was a subscriber to the column, but that paper, the *Spartanburg Journal*, at the other end of the state from

Charleston, ran the most serious and detailed attack, the column of February 28, without a single editorial deletion. It gave its readers a fuller version of the column than, for example, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, *The Washington Post*, the *New York Post*, or the *Los Angeles Times*.

What stayed in and what went out? All the papers except the *Chronicle* and the *Journal* chopped off Pearson's final phrase, referring to the possibility of Rivers' blabbing the nation's secrets while drunk.

The *New York Post* also eliminated this line: "He can be trusted with a secret no longer than it takes him to gulp down a few jiggers of Bourbon."

The *Washington Post* version left out a report that Rivers had had to be picked up by an aide at "Washington's posh Mayflower Hotel," drunk and with a lipstick-smeared shirt. It also made no reference to an alleged incident in Madrid, where Rivers was supposed to have torn the dress off a lady guide.

The *Los Angeles Times* combined the February 28 and March 2 Pearson columns on Rivers, in the process eliminating the lady in Madrid and two other charges that appeared in the Washington and New York versions: "In London, he was found romping through a hotel corridor in his undershorts. Once he got a few drinks under his belt, he also had a disposition to order generals around like bellhops." The *Times* also eliminated from the March 2 material this passage, which appeared in *The Washington Post* the next day: Representative Durward Hall, a Missouri Republican who defended Rivers in Congress, "also shares with Rivers an admiration for the John Birch Society, both having lavishly praised the far-right group."

The *San Francisco Chronicle* cut out the charges of Scotch shipments by Air Force plane, the Mayflower hotel, and some statements favorable to Rivers, but it left in the London hotel and the Madrid lady guide.

Pearson has said that he has to contend with editorial changes frequently. He considers some of them a form of censorship.

"Editors may change a few words, cut the heart out of a column, or discard it altogether if they

do not agree or if they feel I am stepping on dangerous local toes," he said. "They are also reluctant to print material which they feel puts them in jeopardy of a libel suit."

It is difficult to tell whether reasons of space, taste, or libel were behind the changes in the papers examined. The *New York Post's* assistant managing editor, Joseph Rabinovich, says space figured in the *Post's* decision. "Pearson has a habit of saying the same thing more than once in a column. I didn't see anything in particular that would be lost in the trimming to fit," he said.

Examination of all the printed versions of the column shows that whatever the variance over details, none of the editors toned down, blurred, or deleted Pearson's basic charges. The issue, after all, is not whether the Congressman was in a hotel corridor in his undershorts. It is whether the chairman of the House Armed Services Committee is an alcoholic, and the security implications if in fact he is.

Before the Supreme Court's *Times* rule, it is doubtful that the public, in Spartanburg or San Francisco, would have known that the controversy existed at all.

Lynchburg: trial by innuendo

The Washington Post of March 19, 1967, printed an unusual piece of inter-newspaper criticism — an article accusing the newspapers of Lynchburg, Virginia, of unfair treatment of a court case that had drawn national attention. The writer was Richard Corrigan, the Post's roving reporter for Virginia. He has prepared the following summary of the case for the Review:

By RICHARD CORRIGAN

The victim is called Miss Annie. She is a white woman, a plump little spinster of 63. One December evening in 1962 she was walking alone

through the rain to a prayer meeting at the Rivermont Avenue Baptist Church in Lynchburg, Virginia, when someone grabbed her from behind, dragged her under the boughs of a tall fir tree and committed the crime punishable in that state by a minimum sentence of five years' imprisonment and a maximum penalty of electrocution.

The accused is named Thomas Carlton Wansley. He was not yet 18 at the time of the deed, a seventh-grade dropout, a dishwasher by trade, short, slender, bespectacled, and with a skin so dark his friends called him "Blue Jesus."

In February, 1963, Wansley was tried in Lynchburg Corporation Court on charges of raping Miss Annie and robbing her of a dollar purse containing 12 cents and two bus tokens. He also was tried in the same month in the same court on charges of raping a woman of Japanese ancestry. Wansley pleaded innocent in both cases, claiming in the second case that the woman had consented to having relations with him.

Each trial was over in a day, and each jury found Wansley guilty. He was sentenced to death in the electric chair three times. Wansley's lawyer, a Roanoke Negro, died before he could appeal the convictions.

Then into the case as defense counsel came William M. Kunstler of New York. And thus began a savage war between Kunstler and *The News* and *Daily Advance* of Lynchburg. There is one local television station and several radio stations, but the only local editorial opinion of any power appears in *The News* and *Daily Advance*.

Guiding the newspapers' editorial policies is Carter Glass III, general manager. Glass is the grandson of the Carter Glass who became Secretary of the Treasury and Senator from Virginia and who earned the twin titles, "Father of the Federal Reserve System" and "The Unreconstructed Rebel." Senator Glass bought Lynchburg's three papers years ago and merged them into two, and the property has now passed through the son into the control of the grandson, a lawyer by training and an editor by profession.

The Kunstler-Glass war opened in earnest in August, 1964, when the *News* ran a story headlined: "Kunstler Known for Many Roles." Citing such sources as a 1931 study by the

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House Un-American Activities Committee, the American Legion publication *Firing Line* and the Port Chester Citizens Alert Committee, the story said Kunstler "has on numerous occasions been linked with Communist-front organizations and efforts." That phrase subsequently showed up in virtually every story in both papers relating to Wansley or Kunstler.

Kunstler meanwhile succeeded in getting Wansley's convictions overturned on procedural grounds by the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia. He also attempted to get the retrials moved out of the city, claiming that, partly because of the Lynchburg papers, his defendant could not get a fair trial there.

In August, 1965, Carter Glass III took the stand during a pre-trial hearing in Lynchburg Corporation Court on the motion for a change of venue. The cross-examination by Kunstler went like this, according to a copy of the transcript:

"What brought me to your attention?"

"Your Communist and Communist-front activities."

"Why me?"

"Because I have accumulated a file on every Communist and Communist-front individual that appeared in our newspaper . . ."

"Are you stating that I am a Communist?"

"I said I am interested in the Communists."

"If you think I am a Communist, say so honestly."

"I don't know, sir. I haven't seen the records of the Communist party."

"All right, sir, neither have I, so we are even. If I am not a Communist I must be a Communist sympathizer, is that correct?"

"Your record shows that conclusively to me."

"... You have never investigated me yourself, have you?"

"I have not, sir."

"... You are relying on what Senator Eastland might say, is that correct?"

"In part."

"And what Representative Tuck might say?"

"In part."

"So all of your information, lock, stock and barrel, is hearsay. As a lawyer you know this, do you not?"

"That's correct, sir."

"Have you ever questioned me?"

"No, sir."

"You have made no attempt to verify these [accusations], have you?"

"They were all published in the newspaper. There has been no denial by you or anybody on your behalf, sir."

"You think my failure to deny all of this is tantamount to my admission, everything you say is correct? Is that what you say?"

"As an individual, yes, sir."

"... Did you furnish the reporters from your files information which in turn got into the newspaper and has furnished the background information for each of these stories?"

"Yes."

"Then I understand you correctly are the original source of information?"

"The original source of information was my files . . ."

Kunstler then argued before Corporation Court Judge O. Raymond Cundiff:

"The House Un-American Activities file and Senate Internal Subcommittee file and all the other sources, *The Worker* and so on, that are used by Mr. Glass, are used in order to destroy Thomas Wansley. That is the only purpose of printing of this material . . . it has no news value . . . other than the attempt to destroy this man's life, and that is why it's being used here . . . to make every man who sits in the jury box suspect that this man is being [defended] from Moscow . . . I have never seen or read of articles so deliberately designed to prejudice a client of mine, and I have been with some very controversial clients . . ."

Judge Cundiff denied the motion.

Two days later, in an editorial, *The News* declared that Kunstler, "a well-known Communist fellow-traveler," had "tried to use the Lynchburg newspapers as whipping boys to divert attention from the crimes of which his client is charged . . ."

It is obvious that there is no one in a better position than Kunstler to point out any newspaper errors concerning him or his client, if any, in fact, exist."

Wansley went on trial in November, 1965, on the robbery element of the attack on Miss Annie. The trial resulted in a hung jury, and more legal moves followed. The Lynchburg papers continued to drum on the statement that Kunstler "has been linked on numerous occasions with Communist-front organizations and efforts."

The papers also continued to note that Wansley had been convicted in two rape cases.

In March of this year, during the most recent trial, an Associated Press story out of London concerning Lord Russell's war-crimes trial appeared in the *Daily Advance* with this bold-faced insert:

"Editor's Note: Black power advocate Stokeley Carmichael [who was involved in the London story] spoke in Lynchburg March 12 at a Court Street Baptist Church rally to raise funds for convicted Negro rapist Thomas Carlton Wansley."

Another example of this localizing of the news resulted from Kunstler's attempt to represent Jack Ruby. The story in *The News* of May 25, 1965, said: "The attorney of a twice-convicted Negro rapist is in Dallas in an effort to represent Jack Ruby in an upcoming sanity hearing for the man who killed the assassin of President Kennedy."

The effect of the Lynchburg papers' coverage was evident during the two days spent putting together a jury. Some sixty-five prospective jurors were called up for examination, and almost every one was a subscriber to *The News*, the *Daily Advance*, or both. Many remembered reading the items about the defense attorney.

One man said he believed there could be a connection between the Wansley case and the goals of the Communist Party. A woman said, "I could not be sympathetic toward someone with a Communist background." Another man, asked whether he believed the statements regarding Kunstler, said, "I have no one to tell me different." A woman said she believed Wansley guilty — "until proven innocent."

These persons did not sit on the jury. But the jury members had read the papers too, and some of them indicated their disapproval of Kunstler.

Miss Annie, the star witness, said she was sure Wansley was her assailant. Under cross-examination it was brought out that she said she wasn't sure in the first trial and that she had never identified Wansley in a lineup or from a photograph. She explained she was more sure now because she had seen Wansley in court so many times, and also admitted to having seen Wansley's picture in various news stories between trials.

Kunstler suggested to the jury that since the first trial Wansley's face had been permanently engraved in Miss Annie's mind.

The only other witness who linked Wansley to the crimes was a brand-new witness, a parole officer who testified to having overheard Wansley admit to his mother that he did "it." Kunstler objected violently, contending the "it" might easily have referred to the case of the Japanese woman.

After five hours, the jury returned and pronounced Wansley guilty of both rape and robbery, setting the sentence at life for each charge. Kunstler is working on an appeal, which will be based in part on the local press coverage, and has filed motions challenging the convictions.

Shortly after the trial, the *Sun Dial*, campus newspaper of the local Randolph-Macon Woman's College, called the Lynchburg papers' coverage of the case unfair.

The News responded with an editorial headlined: "Randolph-Macon Students: Down the Red Line." The editorial said the campus editors "have parroted to perfection the Communist line . . . The 'masters of deceit' in the Kremlin undoubtedly are casting admiring glances in the direction of Randolph-Macon . . . the Communists [have] made the case a cause celebre. The sheep at Randolph-Macon ran bleating along . . ."

The editors at the three local colleges — Randolph-Macon, Sweet Briar, and Lynchburg (schools never known as hotbeds of radical protests) — retorted with a joint press release saying the local papers had failed in their responsibilities to the community: "As residents of Lynchburg, if only for four years, we are concerned. We think the city deserves something better."

The Wansley case touched off a further protest against the newspapers — by what can only be called the white power structure of the city. Lead-

Reply from Lynchburg

When the Review asked the Lynchburg newspapers for comment on the article in The Washington Post, Carter Glass III sent an editorial from The News of April 4, 1967. The portions referring to the Post read as follows:

The Worker has printed many articles on the Wansley cases, most of which have been rewrites of the "press releases" of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Many other extreme socialist publications, such as The Washington Post, have printed so-called "news stories" and editorials concerning the Wansley cases. An editorial in The Washington Post of March 22, 1967 was very appropriate for the editorial page of that newspaper or the editorial page of The Worker. Truth and objectivity were obviously of no concern to the editor.

The Post editorial attacked the community of Lynchburg, the Lynchburg newspapers and the city's courts and system of justice. All statements critical of any of the three are false! The editorial contains at least 14 errors of alleged fact of commission and 3 of omission, a total of at least 17 false statements!

We agree thoroughly with the editor of The Richmond News Leader when he stated in an editorial of March 23, 1967 as follows:

"The Post is notorious for tendentious reporting and news management.

It's news management practices have been the subject of a clinical study in the Columbia Journalism Review.*

"If the convention to nominate the most pretentious newspaper in America were deadlocked after 100 ballots, we'd stick with The Washington Post for another 100 ballots."

The various news stories in The Washington Post which we have seen were even more scurrilous and more careless in the handling of alleged facts than The Worker.

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ers of Lynchburg's business, civic, and educational groups have accused their two local papers of fomenting frustration and bitterness within the Negro community. They did so in an open letter mailed to every home in the city and signed by nearly seventy prominent persons, including the heads of the Chamber of Commerce, the Board of Realtors and the Retail Merchants Association.

This would be a most unusual step anywhere, let alone in a town like Lynchburg. But as one of the signers of the letter observed, "We're in an unusual situation."

The civic leaders attacked these policies of the papers in particular: their failure to run Negro obituaries except as paid notices in the classified columns; and their failure to print any news about the all-Negro Dunbar High School — not even the scores of ball games — until the city manager apologized for an incident on the school grounds in which a newspaper photographer was roughed up by a faculty member.

The high school paper had complained about this policy of exclusion in an editorial which said: "If this devious process of reasoning puzzles and confuses you, we think it should. If it offends your sense of decency and fair play, your company is legion . . . this is an immoral use of force and power . . ."

The same words fit well when applied to the coverage of the case of Thomas Carlton Wansley, to the attacks on his attorney, William M. Kunstler, to the statements made about the editors of the *Sun Dial*, to the treatment accorded the dead, and the living, Negroes of Lynchburg.

The News answered the open letter with a broadside saying that the civic leaders were plotting to take over the papers. *The News* also said the letter was an open invitation to outside racial agitators. It warned: "We hope you don't reap the whirlwind."

A Lynchburg man raised this query in a letter addressed to me: "Newspaper people, I believe say that journalism is a profession. I believe it is generally considered that a profession disciplines its own members. What would you think that the journalistic fraternity should do about the Lynchburg newspapers?"

Consumer news: a mixed report

By ARTHUR E. ROWSE

Like the Fairy Godmother in the story of Cinderella, the Cinderella Career College and Finishing Schools Inc. specializes in making princesses out of ugly ducklings. It conducts extensive advertising campaigns, mostly in television supplements of local papers, to enroll girls who are looking for exciting careers in modeling, public relations, and kindred fields.

Among the avid readers of its ads, however, has been the Federal Trade Commission, an agency frequently on the lookout for business firms that may promise more than they can deliver. The Commission issued a formal complaint on March 3, accusing Cinderella of misleading advertising and deceptive practices. For example, said the FTC, the College is not a college, and "Miss USA 1965" is not a graduate though represented as such. Nine misrepresentations and two deceptive practices were charged.

To that point, Cinderella was a pretty routine FTC case, scarcely of interest beyond the eight cities where Cinderella schools operate.

But then the story grew, thanks to a Washington lawyer named Alan Y. Cole. As attorney for

Cinderella (and its principal stockholder), Cole decided not only to deny the charges, but to seek an injunction barring the FTC from issuing the press release that normally announces a formal complaint. In his petition to the court, he claimed that publicizing the charges before a formal hearing or final decision by the commission was unfair and might damage business by cutting enrollments.

Although many business firms over the years have felt the sting of unfavorable publicity stemming from release of FTC complaints, this was apparently the first time the agency's publicity practices had been challenged in court. Cole's suit immediately turned a local story into a national issue, with deep significance to some basic rights, such as the "right to know" and the right to a fair trial. Also at issue was the role of information in the protection of consumers.

The action was ironic in several respects. For if what Cole wanted was minimum publicity, he might have done better by remaining silent himself. As editors know all too well, not many FTC cases get into the news channels even (especially?) when they involve local advertisers.

As it turned out, coverage was better than usual. One of the three major dailies in the Washington area carried a full account of the complaint. This came in the *Evening Star*, two days after the details had been released. The *Daily News*, true to its custom in such matters, chose not to inform its readers, many of whom are prime candidates for the Cinderella curriculum. The *Post*, which occa-

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sionally runs brief items about FTC complaints on its financial pages, ran eleven lines at the end of a roundup of miscellaneous local items six days after the release.

Meanwhile, the case was argued in court, and the judge ruled the request for an injunction moot because the release had already been issued. This decision got a total of two sentences in the city press, both in the *Star* story.

The first account of the constitutional issues — and Cole's intention to appeal the decision — came in the March 13 *Advertising Age*, which got the story on a tip from within the FTC. Despite similar reports in other trade journals, including *Editor & Publisher*, telling of the upcoming appeal hearing, the only members of the press present on April 4 to hear Judge Joseph C. McGarraghy grant the unprecedented injunction were Stanley Cohen of *Ad Age* and this writer.

The *Post* learned of the injunction decision only when I telephoned to inform a reporter later that day. The story appeared the next morning among the classified ads. The *Star* picked it up twenty-four hours later. The first wire report came two days after the event. Coverage on radio and television was extremely spotty.

In such cases, the participants all too often take adequate news dissemination for granted. The opposing lawyers in the Cinderella case both based their arguments on the assumption that coverage was complete or at least substantial. The government lawyer contended that the release was needed to warn potential Cinderella enrollees that the FTC had "reason to believe" the law had been violated. The Cinderella lawyer claimed that the release had already caused severe damage to his client's business. Yet the actual use — or non-use — of this release by the major media in Washington showed that the lawyers' assumptions were not fully justified.

The fact is that many items of direct concern to the consumer's pocketbook, health, or safety receive much less coverage than the Cinderella story. Many economic crimes go undetected, and therefore unpunished, because of lack of journalistic interest. Cases of injury and death from hazardous and defective products often are either ignored or reported without important details.

At the same time, while many news outlets have looked the other way, problems have been growing rapidly for the American consumer. Along with the wondrous growth of the marketplace in variety, quantity, and, sometimes, quality of goods and services, has come confusion and complexity that is often beyond the most competent consumers to cope with. It is not possible for anybody to be always certain of exactly what he is buying, which is the safer product, or which is the better buy. Since Diogenes said the market is "a place set apart where men can deceive each other," sales tricks have been perfected to a fine point, especially in door-to-door selling, lending, advertising, product guarantees, and service businesses.

Consumer problems extend beyond the marketplace. The price of economic progress is a whole series of national crises, from the pollution of air and water to the loss of vital greenery and the growing mountains of plastic bottles, aluminum cans, and junked cars.

In recent years, press treatment of these developments has been improving steadily. Sometimes it has been outstanding. But the full story is still too often missing even when the health, safety, and economic well-being of people are at stake. It is time for some searching questions.

For example, how many local news outlets have fully explored the system of economic exploitation that traps approximately one out of every five Americans in a lifetime of poverty? How many local news merchants have revealed the story of how seemingly respectable bankers feed off the oppressive credit practices of small loan outfits and easy-credit merchants? How many news purveyors have told the truth about real estate closing costs? How many local newspapers or broadcasters have pointed their finger at the firms responsible for polluting the air and water?

On the national scene, how many news outlets did any significant reporting about pesticide dangers, mechanical hazards of automobiles, funeral rackets, advertising excesses, probate costs, electricity overcharges or exploitation of the poor through credit schemes either before or after fast-selling books revealed the details?

To be sure, some did. For example, it was a newspaper (*The Washington Post*) that broke



New York Times puts news of consumer interest on financial page. Above: April 6, 1967.

the thalidomide story. But if the daily media had done even a half-way job in any of the important areas mentioned in the previous paragraph, books about them would not have caused such sensations.

One of the most serious — and least understood — developments has been the economic aspect of the restlessness and bitterness in the "ghettos." Most of the arson and robbery that erupted in Watts, Harlem, Hough, Philadelphia and other communities was aimed at merchants usually associated with sharp practices, high prices, or shoddy merchandise. History may show that the basic motivation behind these violent outbreaks was more economic than racial and more related to consumer problems than to unemployment.

Yet there has been less discussion of this aspect than almost any other. If indeed the press has been negligent here, the consequences could be serious for everybody, regardless of where they live. For the hope and direction of efforts to improve society by public and private groups depend to a great extent on how social problems are portrayed in the press. The reaction of Los Angeles, where the McCone Commission Report devoted only three pages out of 100 to the consumer aspects of the Watts riots, was conditioned very much by the local press.

The publisher of the *Los Angeles Times*, a

paper that won a Pulitzer for its series *after* the riots, acknowledged that his paper and other media had been "derelict in not exposing the conditions in Watts."

Why haven't the communicators done better?

There are four principal reasons. First is the bewhiskered tradition of what constitutes news. Many editors and their staffs continue to determine newsworthiness on the basis of what sold papers in the heyday of the Hearst-Pulitzer circulation wars of the last century. Meanwhile, the problems of everyday living have become immensely more difficult despite — or because of — our fantastic mechanical advances. And, I submit, people are becoming much more interested and concerned with things that strike home and family. The supermarket boycotts last year showed how strongly housewives across the country feel about grocery bills. Yet many local papers, including ones in Denver, the focal point of the boycotts, were reluctant and tardy with coverage.

Part of the problem is the prevalence of male minds in the key positions of evaluating the news for all readers, viewers and listeners, including the female ones who include almost all the experts in consumer matters.

A second reason for the shortage of consumer coverage is a mechanical one. In a case like *Cinderella*, the most important and most interesting part of the story for consumers of this educational service was the list of specific charges. Yet these are just the details most likely to be cut because of space and time factors.

Then there are the logistics problems arising from the fact that most news staffs operate at the community level while most of the big social and economic issues are predominantly national in scope. A similar dichotomy hampers public protectors in the fields of sales rackets and credit abuses, among others, where state and local law enforcement is simply not effective, and federal legislation is seen as the eventual answer.

A third reason for the relative paucity of consumer news reporting is the subtle prostitution of those with much of the responsibility for handling consumer topics. It is no secret that editors of most special sections, women's magazines, and broadcasts beamed at housewives are constantly plied

with free or discounted merchandise. Countless gifts, free trips, free tickets, and other favors are available for those who will take them. The "editorial discount" is so common in the appliance industry that it has become a standing joke.

In addition, there are innumerable self-serving awards for journalistic "excellence" in reporting information about such things as fashions, boats, home furnishings, insurance, air travel, air safety, food, bowling, and home laundering. There is even a \$1,000 annual prize, the same amount as a Pulitzer, for excellence in photographing cigar smokers. All these and more are listed in *Editor & Publisher Year Book*.

The net effect of these efforts is easy access to many channels of communications for promotional publicity and a shortage of space for unfavorable news about heavily advertised products.

The fourth major reason for the relative paucity of consumer news is that old bugaboo, the fear of advertiser retaliation. Unfortunately, this is still an important factor inhibiting radio, television, and the slick magazines, but it is no longer as powerful as it used to be on newspapers.

Actually, this fear is almost completely unfounded. There are extremely few cases where advertisers have permanently withdrawn their business because a conscientious editor printed an unfavorable story. In a country where 96 per cent of the cities have only one newspaper company, advertisers need the local newspaper more than the newspaper needs any one advertiser.

Newspapers still have far to go to reach true editorial independence from commercial interests, but improvement is noticeable, especially in the last ten years. Since 1957, for example, when the daily press virtually ignored a long series of Washington hearings showing cigarette filters to be relatively ineffective, editors have learned that they can print objective reports on lung cancer without losing cigarette advertising. The turning point came in 1964 with publication of the Surgeon General's report, *Smoking and Health*, summarizing the statistics linking cigarette smoking and lung cancer. If anything, the press overplayed the report, perhaps because it had underplayed the story to that point.

A recent story (March 15, 1967) received ex-

tremely spotty treatment. It involved the rating of fifty-six cigarette brands on the basis of their tar and nicotine content. Although the results were potentially of interest to all cigarette smokers and came from a reliable authority (the Roswell Park Memorial Institute in Buffalo) only ten of nineteen major papers I surveyed ran anything, and only five of these ten carried the full details by brand, even though these were available from the wire services.

In only two years, news about automobile safety hazards has moved off the *verboten* list, not because of any great change of heart on the part of editors, but because the issue exploded beyond the point where it could be ignored or played down as it was for so many years. However, when the Bell-McClure Syndicate offered serialization of Ralph Nader's book, *Unsafe at Any Speed*, to some 700 papers last year, not one taker was found. By the end of April, 1967, the general public had received no information in any major outlet about the eight automobile tires that had failed in the previous six months to pass the minimum safety standards of the Rubber Manufacturers Association. Yet 600 papers carry Drew Pearson's column, which frequently discusses consumer issues frankly.

Coverage seems to depend in part on how specific the wire reports are about brands and companies. For example, when the Department of Health, Education and Welfare named twenty-seven allegedly useless weight-reducing devices in 1959, 14 out of 21 large papers omitted the story entirely. But last December, when the Federal Trade Commission issued proposed guidelines aimed at curbing retail credit abuses, 20 out of 21 papers printed the story.

The reason for poor coverage, however, is not always commercial pressure or editorial reluctance. As the thalidomide story showed, the trouble may be simple neglect or inadequate news judgment. Chunks of this sensational development had been floating around for six months before *The Washington Post* pieced them together. Detailed accounts had appeared in various medical journals, an open hearing had been held by Congress, and several reporters had interviewed Dr. Frances Kelsey, the heroine of the story,

before the newspaper's article appeared.

But there is still an embarrassing amount of obeisance to or fear of advertisers, resulting in suppression of information of interest and value to consumers. Over the years, Boston newspapers hold some sort of a record in this field. Only in the past few years, coincidental with the banning of ads from page one, have these papers begun to display any semblance of freedom from commercial domination. The list of verboten subjects, words, and names has been growing shorter for a change. Among words banned in Boston in the recent past have been "gas" in stories of explosions and names of large hotels and stores in cases of accidents or crimes.

Editors seem to have a growing compulsion to categorize, departmentalize, or pigeon hole the news. Thus, *The Washington Post* almost invariably placed statements by former presidential consumer adviser Esther Peterson on the women's pages simply because Mrs. Peterson is a woman. When I asked the managing editor of one large paper if he wanted an interpretive piece on President Johnson's consumer message, he replied: "You should talk to our business editor." Actions of federal regulatory commissions in behalf of consumers more often wind up on the financial pages than in any other section. *The New York Times* prints the excellent "Personal Finance" column on the financial page.

The net result is that among the printed media, the best sources of information affecting consumers are the business papers and trade journals. The most informative include *The Wall Street Journal*, *Advertising Age*, *Supermarket News*, *Drug Topics*, *Drug Trade News* and some of the Fairchild publications such as *Women's Wear Daily* and *Home Furnishings Daily*. Among the best general dailies for consumer news coverage are *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *Chicago's American*.

Among the magazines, the most informative are *Time* and *Newsweek*, both of which owe much of their circulation growth to the popularity of their consumer-oriented sections on medicine and modern living. With the exception of these publications and a very few others, however, magazines tend to run more scared than the

Easters and nor'easters

In heroic efforts to help downtown merchants, Boston papers have resorted to distorting weather news in order to draw shoppers into the area. Examples of this occurred in 1956 when a blizzard struck two weeks before Easter, threatening to cut into downtown sales. Several papers not only decided not to carry the usual news story about an approaching snowstorm in March but, with the deft use of pictures and headlines, sought to give the impression afterward that downtown streets were clear, when such was far from the case. Four days later, while the city was still banning parking everywhere except near the big stores and traffic was at a standstill, the *Boston Globe* ran a headline saying: SNOW CLEANUP CONTINUES; TRAVEL NORMAL. Also on the page was a two-column box announcing: SHOPPING AREA CLEAR; ALL INVITED, SAYS MAYOR. A Weather Bureau prediction of possible new snowstorms and a "chance of showers" was reduced in the front-page weather ear to "fair, not quite so mild." The next day, with only one week left to shop for Easter, the *Globe* ran an eight-column banner saying: BOSTON ALL CLEAR, SNOW FIGHTERS REST — CITY OPEN FOR BUSINESS AS USUAL. Once again, a prediction of snow was limited to the weather ear.

Two years later, it was the *Traveler's* turn to try to divert the attention of readers away from a pre-Easter blizzard. Despite a contrary weather prediction, one headline promised: SNOW TO TAPER OFF THIS AFTERNOON. Then, with the entire Northeast section of the country paralyzed under sixteen inches of snow the next day, the paper reported: HUB NORMAL AGAIN AS STORM LEAVES 5 DEAD.

The grand prize for weather reporting belongs to the *Globe* on Good Friday, 1959. Although the Weather Bureau issued "a heavy snow warning" for the next day, the evening *Globe's* double-line banner across page one said: GO GET YOUR EASTER BONNET; FAIR AND WARMER EASTER. Later editions changed the word "get" to "buy."

Although the Boston newspapers have done better with weather reports — and have had better weather — in recent years, they continued to live in constant fear of their advertisers.

— A. E. R.

papers on controversial consumer topics. As long-time masters of exploiting the "you" angle, periodical editors have steadily increased the proportion of non-inflammatory homemaking material on nutrition, recipes, furnishings, health, and cautious shopping information.

By skillfully maintaining a semblance of objectivity and candor in these relatively harmless areas, the so-called slick magazines have avoided stepping on the toes of advertisers or the business community. *Better Homes and Gardens*, one of the giants, credits the consumer angle for much of its recent circulation growth.

It must be more than a coincidence that *Reader's Digest*, the greatest exploiter of the consumer angle, also has the largest circulation. It has shaped an image as a crusading force against tobacco. The *Digest* has nearly as many sacred cows as other general magazines, but it also has hard-hitting, well-written articles. Like most of the other big magazines, the *Digest* limits its frankness generally to such commercially safe areas as sex, health, and religion.

Other big magazines have long since succumbed to aggressive industries, one of the most aggressive being the food industry. This was made plain in March, 1963, when Paul Willis, then president of the Grocery Manufacturers of America, told a select group of magazine executives "the facts of life covering advertising-media relationships" and described the "interdependency relationships" between their editorial and advertising departments. Among the sixteen magazines he claimed had agreed publicly to cooperate with food advertisers in fighting or ignoring the "truth-in-packaging" bill, for one thing, were *Life*, *Look*, *Reader's Digest*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, and *Good Housekeeping*.

An example of this cooperation showed up in the January 26, 1965, issue of *Look*, the winner of the 1966 National Magazine Award for "skillful editing, imagination and editorial integrity . . ." An article with the byline of Charles G. Mortimer, then chairman of the General Foods Corp., presented the food industry's arguments against the packaging bill that passed Congress last year. Several Senators and Esther Peterson, the President's special assistant for consumer

affairs at that time, asked *Look* for permission to present the other side of the issue. The magazine not only refused the request but also failed to print any of the critical letters it received.

Good Housekeeping also has done a good job keeping the industry's house in order. For example, when the boycotts were hot news last fall, "The Magazine America Lives By" took a full page ad in *The New York Times* and other papers to present "an open letter to Mrs. America." The letter praised the food industry in general and urged the ladies to use "intelligence and fair play" before joining a local boycott of food stores. Meanwhile, *Good Housekeeping* columnist Charlotte Montgomery wrote a colorful little brochure circulated by General Foods to show why no new legislation was needed on packaging.

A further example of how one industry controls the so-called "consumer" magazines occurred last year. In an attempt to influence the findings of the National Commission on Food Marketing, the Grocery Manufacturers of America raised a \$750,000 war chest for research papers. This included \$100,000 apiece from the magazine and television media. The GMA then persuaded a group of food editors to ask the commission for a special hearing. The editors, whose message was that American consumers were well pleased with the food industry, represented *Good Housekeeping*, *True Story*, *Woman's Day*, *Ebony*, *Farm Journal*, and *What's New in Home Economics*.

Outside of *Time* and *Newsweek*, virtually the only magazines that can be counted on to speak frankly across the board on consumer matters are the so-called intellectuals such as *Harper's*, *Atlantic*, *The Nation*, *Fact*, and *The New Republic*.

In radio and television, there is even less candor on consumer topics than in magazines. The best chance to hear about a sensitive item in the news is on NBC's *Huntley-Brinkley Report*, the *CBS Evening News* with Walter Cronkite, or NBC's *Today* show. Beyond these and a few other broadcasts lies a desert of commercial obeisance.

Part of the trouble is the very nature of the beast. Both radio and television are at their technical best when projecting live, dramatic events in process. They tend to be even more crisis-oriented than the written press. The documentary is

their only effective medium for even passable treatment of complex current issues. In this department, CBS is far ahead of the field in tackling sensitive consumer topics. But even the CBS list is not very long.

For example, CBS is the only network to have presented an hour-long program on cigarettes and lung cancer. Contrast this one show, excellent though it was, against, the constant barrage of cigarette ads almost hourly on all networks.

CBS also was the only network to air an hour-long show on the assets and liabilities of retail credit. The price for displaying this much public responsibility was \$250,000. The network announced that it had passed up the fee because the usual sponsor, IBM, feared the show might embarrass some of IBM's customers who lend money.

CBS also was the only network to produce a documentary on automobile safety hazards. The only other hour-long film to appear on commercial television was one produced for General Motors by a private company. This film was shown on many stations the same day President Johnson signed the auto safety bill and shook hands with Ralph Nader, the man who almost singlehandedly steered the issue into the public spotlight. Nowhere in the film, however, was there any mention of the new law or Nader.

Air pollution has been the subject of documentaries by CBS and NBC, as well as by the Airlie Center of George Washington University. The last-named film, titled "Beware the Wind," was produced under a government grant and is being distributed free to local television stations.

Several documentaries have attempted to portray the hopelessness of slum life, but only one has come close to analyzing the economic exploitation of the poor. This was an hour-long production of National Educational Television (NET) entitled "The Poor Pay More," after the book of the same name by David Capolivitz.

The failure of television, the dominant medium for millions, to confront critical issues squarely may be causing serious damage to American society. The effect may be most critical when the people in positions of responsibility fail to realize that they, too, are getting distorted images of current developments. Is it not possible, for example,

that the virtual failure of the news media to report fully the consumer problems of the poor is linked to the failure of the War on Poverty to devote even 1 per cent of Community Action Program funds to consumer education? Is it not possible that this same failure is linked to the ineffectiveness to date of the antipoverty program itself?

Similar questions can be asked in the private field. For example, how can our social institutions and religious organizations exercise their responsibilities and exert their influence if they do not get a clear view of the big picture? And how can district attorneys and attorneys general across the land become involved in prosecuting economic crimes with the same fervor with which they pursue physical crimes if the press doesn't show the need for it? How can anyone expect the exploiters themselves to mend their ways if they know that bad publicity, the worst punishment of all, is not likely to come their way because the press falters?

One of the reasons for the persistence of outmoded news concepts is the lack of much substantive data on what people really want to know about. The last extensive national survey by George Gallup on this subject was in 1958. It concluded that the foremost area of news interest was health, followed closely by pocketbook matters.

This was not an unexpected result. But, curiously enough, most editors seem to have misinterpreted the results in at least two respects:

First, they have concluded erroneously that people want consumer *features* rather than consumer *news*.

Second, they have concluded erroneously that such topics can be discussed seriously without controversy.

To the contrary, this survey and subsequent evidence tend to show that the American people are crying out for consumer *news*—reported without fear or favor. Nothing is more important to people than to know the truth about what affects their pocketbook, their health, and their safety. Where consumers are concerned, information can be protection.

This is also true for the press. One needs to look no further than the case of *Cinderella Career College v. U. S.* to find proof of that.

Overcharge: press and utilities

Early this year, *The New York Times* reported a public utility consultant's charge that Consolidated Edison of New York had passed on an \$800,000 New York World's Fair loss to its consumers. The report further alleged that Con Ed, an investor-owned electric utility, had overcharged consumers \$35 million in the past two and a half years.

Editorially, the *Times* pressed the New York Public Service Commission to release its consultant's report. Then it took on the commission on its rate-raising record. The commission had "gone along with Con Ed because it lacked the qualifications or disposition to do anything else," the *Times* said. Its members were "undistinguished politicians" with "no special expertise in the field of rate regulation and they cannot cope with the formidable and sophisticated appeals for [rate] increases made by Con Ed."

This aggressive surveillance of a quasi-public monopoly and its regulatory agency came too late for the mention it would have deserved in *Overcharge*, the new book by Senator Lee Metcalf and Vic Reinemer (David McKay Company, \$5). This is regrettable, because the press receives a very bad press indeed in *Overcharge*, which could become the *Unsafe at Any Speed* of the investor-owned utilities (IOUs).

To the authors, Con Ed's alleged shenanigans are old hat. In fact, they claim journalists' neglect of even the most routine and available information about IOUs has been a major contribution to widespread consumer ignorance and, thus, exploitation.

Furthermore, the authors describe how a number of newspapers in 1963 opposed a proposed Federal Power Commission requirement that IOUs make public and itemize their nonoperating expenditures, including contributions and political expenditures.

"Broadcasters and advertising associations joined newspaper editors in demanding freedom from in-

formation about power-company expenditures," the authors write.

They also note: "Although the press seldom explores utility ownership, options, advertising, nonoperating expenses, rates of return and retainers, other aspects of power-company affairs receive wide publicity."

There is widespread newspaper coverage, for instance, "prepackaged" by the *Industrial News Review* of Portland, Oregon, which has received IOU support. This is the same editorial factory that received a fee from the American Medical Association. In the same year, the AMA presented to Congress a bundle of anti-Medicare editorials represented as "the viewpoints of a majority of the American people." At least forty-four of the editorials in the AMA presentation came from the Portland operation. A similar pattern of press, IOU, and *Industrial News Review* cooperation is reported in *Overcharge*.

The authors were spared weeks of research by a statement of A. L. Cole, general manager of the *Reader's Digest*. He told the 1961 convention of the IOU-supported Edison Electric Institute:

"We are on your side. We have shown this repeatedly by articles published in *Reader's Digest* over a period of many years."

(Such splendid public frankness by all media managers would undoubtedly be the death-blow to the pseudo-sciences of content and "gatekeeper" analysis — public service of no mean proportion.)

Constructive points can be drawn from the book:

1. The authors mention some rare exceptions to the generally poor press performance in coverage of IOUs — the *Times*, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, some Scripps-Howard papers, "a few others," particularly reporter Rice Odell of the Scripps-Howard *Washington Daily News*.

2. The press is one of many institutions. In the long run it is the job of universities to provide research and teaching for enlightenment in the complex field of utilities, and of Congress and the state agencies to take the regulatory initiative.

3. This book is a must assignment for reporters permitted and willing to serve on the neglected IOU beat.

ROBERT O. BLANCHARD

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A code for riot reporting

By EDMONDE A. HADDAD

Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago, speaking last fall before the Radio and Television News Directors Association, told of a group of eighteen pickets, half under the age of sixteen, being filmed and interviewed by no fewer than thirty-seven newsmen. Another convention speaker recalled a get-together of the Klu Klux Klan in Southern California. On hand to cover a handful of Klansmen were 200 reporters and 200 photographers.

Similar incidents occur frequently. Too often, the result of radio and television coverage has been the creation of news, rather than mere reporting. As Mayor Daley charged, "In disturbances resulting from protest marches, the television camera didn't seek the violence, the violence sought the camera."

Recent violence on the Sunset Strip in Los Angeles was exploited by irresponsible news coverage. Once dotted with such elegant restaurants and nightclubs as *Ciro's* and the *Mocambo*, the section of Sunset Boulevard known as the Strip has become a haven for teen-agers. In a group of fifty or sixty teen-agers on a Saturday night, there may well be one or two troublemakers. If a fight breaks out, the police are called, and the crowd naturally pushes closer to see what's happening. Then the mobile broadcast units arrive. More than once during the Sunset Strip trouble, reporters, cameramen and soundmen from at least two stations, one

of them network owned and operated, encouraged the crowd to violence. Their shouts amounted to: "C'mon, let's have some excitement! How about rolling a car? You're on TV." The crowd became a mob; windows were broken, cars were damaged, and citizens were terrorized.

Another example: Last spring Mrs. Leonard Deadwyler was shown getting out of her automobile to attend the funeral of her husband. A Negro, Mr. Deadwyler had been shot to death by a white policeman in Los Angeles after a chase. The case was important because of the racial implications surrounding a well-publicized inquest into the death. As Mrs. Deadwyler emerged from her automobile, a television "reporter" shoved a microphone into her face and asked how she felt that day. Another television station also covered the funeral, but its newscaster that evening felt constrained to tell *his* audience: "The reporter who asked that question does not work for this station."

Criticism of this kind of coverage does not imply that broadcast news must confine itself to the bland, the pleasant, and the noncontroversial aspect of everyday life. Far from it. But the sight of dozens of newsmen from competing media trailing along on a demonstration, filming a scene of civil disobedience, invading the privacy of an individual or family suddenly engulfed by personal tragedy, is reprehensible. Such transgressions are made too often by too many radio and television stations, network and independent.

After the riots in the Watts area of Los Angeles in August, 1965, Governor Edmund G. Brown's commission, headed by John A. McCone, suggested that members of the media meet to consider voluntary guidelines for reporting civil dis-

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orders. Beginning last April, such meetings were held under the aegis of the School of Journalism and the Department of Telecommunications of the University of Southern California. Newspaper reporters, radio and television newsmen, programming executives, college professors, wire-service reporters, and executives got together, all in one place, to offer suggestions. The discussions were often heated and sometimes even bitter.

Many of the journalists who attended did not feel then and do not feel now that any code was necessary or workable. Many cited the traditional right of newsmen to "get the story" whatever the circumstances.

I would be less than candid if I intimated that all present approved of the draft or, in an emergency, would even try to live by it. Still, we drafted a code that, while perhaps a little simplistic in text, is at least a step toward responsible journalism. We used as a basis a code of conduct drawn up by the *Chicago Sun-Times*, in effect for sixteen years.

Our most recent draft, dated May 31, 1967, reads as follows:

The following are Suggestions for the Reporting of Civil Disorders and other events that may reflect public tension. These reminders to newsmen in Southern California are based on experience in various cities of the United States, including Los Angeles:

1. Avoid emphasizing stories on public tensions while the tensions of a particular incident are developing. Ask the law-enforcement agency involved whether the developing incident is designated as a disturbance of the peace or otherwise. Report the official designation of the incident.

2. Public reports should not state exact location, intersection, street name, or number until authorities have sufficient personnel on hand to maintain control.

3. Immediate or direct reporting should minimize interpretation, eliminate airing of rumors, and avoid using unverified statements.

4. Avoid the reporting of trivial incidents. Reporting should emphasize the partial and local aspects of the particular incident, avoiding implication that the incident represents widespread or general events. Editing also should place the reporting of an incident in realistic perspective.

5. Because inexperienced use of cameras, bright lights, or microphones may stir exhibitionism of some people, great care should be exercised by crews at scenes of public disorders. Because, too, of danger of injury and even death to news per-

sonnel, their presence should be as unobtrusive as possible. Unmarked vehicles should be used for initial evaluation of events of this nature.

6. Cruising in an area of potential crisis may invite trouble. It is suggested that reporters make full use of the law-enforcement headquarters nearest such an area until a newsworthy event occurs.

7. Reporters who are at the scene of an explosive or potentially explosive situation should avoid reporting of interviews with obvious "inciters." Reporters should interview responsible representatives of the affected locality.

8. Reporters should inform in advance any person who is interviewed that the interview may be made public.

9. Scare headlines, scare bulletins, and sensationalism of other kinds should be avoided in magazines, newspapers, radio, and television.

10. All news media should make every effort to assure that only seasoned reporters are sent to the scene of a disaster.

11. No report should use superlatives or adjectives which might incite or enlarge a conflict, or cause a renewal of trouble in areas where disturbances have quieted.

12. Reporters should emphasize efforts by law enforcement officials to restore order. Advice to the public should emphasize avoidance of areas of potential danger, observance of any curfew, or similar suggestions that originate with public safety officers.

13. Advisory data for discretionary use by newsmen should be written in calm, matter-of-fact sentences. This is for the purpose of avoiding inflammatory results from unintended public report of discretionary information. Honest and dispassionate reporting is the best reporting.

14. Reporters should not detail how any weapon is obtained, made, or used.

15. Reporters should not identify precise locations of command posts of public officials, police, fire units, or military units.

16. Every reporter and technician should be governed by the rules of good taste and common sense. The potential for inciting public disorders demands that competition be secondary to the cause of public safety.

Efforts are being made to see that this draft is made available to as many newsmen as possible across the country. It was purposely kept flexible to be adaptable to a situation in any city.

Perhaps the most encouraging aspect of this inquiry is the fact that it is being made. Self-examination in any profession is usually a forerunner of improvement.

To count a crowd

By HERBERT A. JACOBS

Crowd estimates may be the last area of fantasy in the newspaper business. The city editor insists on direct quotations that reflect what the speakers actually said. He wants correct addresses and accurate spelling of names. But it is a different story when it comes to estimating the size of the crowd. The editor may grumble, but he will let an "official" do the guessing for him. Reporters, aware of this foible, tend to get together at rallies, and jointly agree on a "reasonable" figure.

The trouble with all these guesses is that they are themselves based on guesses. Old-time political reporters cover many meetings and observe crowds of various sizes. They soon adopt a scale of values, having seen police officials and their own colleagues estimate crowd sizes. But nobody, including the police, actually stops to count. It is a symposium of guesses, usually erring on the side of generosity.

Only a few newspapers — the Louisville *Courier-Journal* is one — make their reporters count heads and report the figure as part of the story.

"Crowds are part of politics," Theodore H. White wrote in *The Making of the President 1960*, and the business of "crowdmanship," or bragging about who attracted the biggest crowds, was part of their success picture that both major candidates tried to create in 1960.

The size of the crowd is a factor in state and local politics as well, because it tells something

Herbert A. Jacobs, who worked as a newspaperman in Wisconsin for thirty years, is now a lecturer in the department of journalism, University of California, Berkeley. His article is based on a presentation he made at the California Journalism Conference in Sacramento.

about the popularity of a candidate, and about the intensity with which issues are affecting the people. Should not this figure, then, be given as careful attention as that accorded to quotations and statements of policy? (The problem arises largely at outdoor gatherings. Halls have known seating capacities, and it is easy to estimate the size of the crowd by noting whether most seats are filled, and whether there are standees.)

Samuel G. Blackman, general news editor of The Associated Press, conceded in a letter to me that the wire service had "no foolproof system for estimating the size of a crowd, and will be in the market for an IBM crowd-estimator any time they invent one."

Earl J. Johnson, retired vice president of United Press International, wrote:

Our Washington reporters who travel with national political candidates are pretty savvy about crowd sizes. If Merriman Smith [head of UPI's Washington bureau] reports that 5,000 came to the railroad station at Coshocton to hear Goldwater, we accept his estimate, although we may report that local Republican leaders said the crowd numbered 7,000.

The *New York Times* has used a three-ply estimate at political rallies, giving the police judgment (at the same time noting the political allegiance of the local administrator), the politician's own estimate, and also that of the covering reporter. The reporter's is usually the consensus of the press corps covering the candidate. Turner Catledge, executive editor of the *Times*, supplied to me a "memorandum from the city editor":

For years the police in New York City were the source for crowd estimates. It was usually the highest-ranking police officer in charge of patrolling the parade route or rally who made the guess and always erred on the side of generosity. As the years went by, the

estimates seemed to become more and more unrealistic.

In the post-mortems which followed the Truman victory over Dewey in 1948, it became apparent that if more attention had been paid to the size and the behavior of the crowds, Truman's strength might have been seen. Thus, the accurate estimation of political crowds assumed a new importance.

Just how accurate are the police and other estimates on which reporters generally rely? A sampling around the country indicates that they are often double or triple and sometimes as much as twenty times the actual number.

When Vice President Nixon stopped at the Milwaukee airport during the 1960 campaign, a Republican party official estimated the welcoming crowd at 12,000. The police put it at 8,000. A reporter said there were 5,000. *The Milwaukee Journal* enlarged a crowd picture and counted heads; the number turned out to be near 2,300. Even counting those along the fringes, or possibly obscured by other heads, "the crowd could not have been more than 3,000," the *Journal* said.

Democratic leaders estimated Nixon's 1960 crowds in the New York campaign at 600,000, White points out in his book, but Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller said they numbered two million. Democrats put John F. Kennedy's parade crowds in New York at 1,250,000. This was a remarkably modest claim, in view of some of the whoppers perpetrated in the name of civic pride.

For instance, when General Eisenhower returned in triumph from Europe at the end of World War II, a police official "counted" six million welcoming him, but the commissioner cautiously cut this to four million. A few weeks later, Major General Jonathan M. Wainwright, hero of Corregidor, drew crowds looking only half as big. But the loyal police still said four million.

A high tide of estimating came in the parade for General Douglas MacArthur in 1951, when a police commissioner put the crowd at eight million. John Hohenberg, in *The Professional Journalist*, points out that this guess was emblazoned across eight columns of at least one New York paper, although it totaled as many people as there were in the city.

In 1960 *The New York Times* used official city maps, measured sidewalk widths, and calculated that the traditional ticker-tape parade route from Battery Park to City Hall could hold no more than 141,436 spectators. Even allowing generously for those hanging out of office windows and watching from side streets, the total could not be more than 500,000, the *Times* concluded.

Hohenberg also writes that measurements show that Times Square, where New Year's Eve crowds were formerly reported at 500,000 to a million, can actually hold no more than 250,000.

Ben Reeves, managing editor of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, has pointed out how far astray estimates of even small crowds can wander:

I recall once traveling on the campaign trail with our U.S. Senator John Sherman Cooper. In the little town of Manchester, Kentucky, a veritable hotbed of Republicanism, I asked a constable his estimate of the crowd that heard Cooper speak. He looked around over the crowd and allowed it numbered "about 3,000." That looked a little inflated to me, so I moved on and put the question to the little town's chief of police. He thought there were 1,500 to 2,000 present. Cooper's P.R. man guessed it at 3,000 to 4,000. Later, en route to the next campaign appearance, I asked Cooper himself. He said he'd spent the time during a long-winded introduction in counting heads, and had arrived at a figure of just over 600. That was about right.

In another instance, I counted 375 heads at a rally down in western Kentucky. When the speaking was over, I asked the rally chairman, a Baptist preacher of some local reputation, how many people he estimated were there. He looked out over the audience and whispered, "Oh, there's probably more than 5,000."

I wondered whether a tentative beginning might be made in developing an estimating formula that even a novice reporter could use. The Berkeley campus of the University of California furnished an excellent site for this kind of research, for the following reasons:

1. I was able to obtain blueprints of the Sproul Plaza rally area, giving exact measurements, so that one could determine what square footage a crowd occupied.

2. Much of the plaza is divided by stone pavement lines into squares of 22 feet each, and some of the squares are crossed by brick diagonals, and thus quartered.

3. The campus community is activist, speech-prone, and rally-prone, giving abundant opportunity for measurements.

The architect and city planner Victor Gruen, in his book *The Heart of Our Cities* says that "a thin man in a subway" takes up two square feet. A fat man, Gruen says, takes up five square feet. The California Health and Environmental Safety code requires a minimum of seven square feet to a person for dance floors and other places of public assembly — and be it remembered that the seven-foot formula was made when dancing was still a body-contact sport. Thus it is probable, considering Gruen's thin and fat men and the building code, that an average standing person is believed to occupy three or four square feet. My researches indicate, however, that he — or she — actually occupies about six or eight square feet, at least in Berkeley's Sproul Plaza.

By counting people standing in a square, one could figure out how many square feet each spectator would cover. It was also possible to take pictures of the entire crowd from an upper floor of Sproul Hall, rather than merely obtain a ground-level view. Thus a mathematical determination of density could be verified by head count.

During December, 1966, and January and

February, 1967, there were many rallies. Shouldering aside FBI men and police chiefs of various cities who were looking for Communists, and also brushing away Communists looking for recruits, I infiltrated the crowds. I counted representative squares, and quarters of squares, noting the time and the speaker. And then I would dash to the upper floors of Sproul and take a picture of the same crowd. The crowds tended to be slightly denser close to the microphone.

With the squares measuring 22 feet each way, for a total of 484 square feet, if I counted 85 people standing within a square, a calculation indicated that each person averaged 5.7 square feet of space. The photograph with its head count gave a check on the mathematical computation. I am happy to report that they pretty well agreed.

The density of the crowds varied. On some occasions, apparently when the topic did not interest any students at all, the person at the microphone would be speaking to an indifferent parade. Nobody stopped to listen. On other occasions the plaza would be full of spectators. Yet even when it seemed full, there was always some movement within the crowd.

I was even able to obtain a sit-in density formula. At a Students for a Democratic Society rally, the speaker urged the audience to move forward and sit down, so as to open up a lane for foot traffic. The group did move forward — should one say that it was as Moses parted the Red Sea? — and the steps were covered. A photograph count gave a density figure of 6.7 square feet for each seated person. It was a mixed group. Perhaps the square footage would be greater with a predominantly female crowd.

Only once did the density, according to my calculations, reach four square feet to a person. The usual density on other occasions was between 6.5 and 8.5 square feet to a person. On February 10, a chance count showed 9.5 square feet to a person when the activist leader, Mario Savio, was addressing the plaza for the first time since the dismissal of President Clark Kerr.

I wondered whether a formula might not be developed by which a reporter could quickly calculate the approximate size of a crowd. I determined from comparing photographs, density

100,000 Rally at U.N. Against Vietnam War

125,000 Marchers Protest War

**100,000 Take Demands to U.N.
as Others Rally Across Nation**

Reporters covering New York peace march on April 15 relied on police estimate of crowd

counts, and the blueprints of the plaza, that this could be done. If the reporter paced the length and width of the crowd, and multiplied these two footages together, he could divide by a number — say, seven — that could approximate the density of the crowd, and get a figure that would probably be within 20 to 25 per cent of what an actual nose count would show.

Another, simpler method, but suitable only for medium sized crowds of around 500 to 5,000 in size and approximately square in shape, is to add length and width, and multiply by a density factor. If the crowd seems fairly loosely composed, that is, if people can be seen moving into and out of the middle, multiply the sum of length and width by seven. If the crowd seems more compact and few persons can be seen moving within it, multiply by ten. Since there are few remaining mountain peaks available for naming, I will call this the Jacobs Crowd Formula.

When Berkeley students voted on December 1, 1966, to approve a strike, after an incident the night before involving the presence of policemen on campus, Bay Area papers estimated the crowd

at 8,000 to 10,000. Some papers published photos. I obtained an 11-by-14-inch enlargement of one photo taken at the height of rally. I ruled it off in one-inch squares, and with a magnifying glass counted heads. They totaled 2,804. Even allowing 20 per cent more for those on the fringes just outside the picture, the crowd could not have been more than 3,400.

On February 7, 1967, Stokely Carmichael spoke to a Sproul Plaza gathering, estimated by the *San Francisco Chronicle* at "between 6,000 and 7,000 students." I took photographs and again counted noses. The long count. Such a count takes about four hours; it totaled 2,366.

I have labeled this study tentative. There are cross-cultural implications crying for attention. Do Eskimos stand more compactly because of the cold climate? There are already weighty studies indicating that the volatile citizens of Rome or Naples stand farther apart than do Americans, because they need room to wave their arms. Finally, one could also ask whether constant reading of Mao Tse-tung's thoughts causes Chinese crowds to be more or less dense.

Was this picture necessary?

In its exuberant coverage of the arrival of Svetlana Alliluyeva, Stalin's daughter, The New York Times (which will serialize her memoirs) used the photo at right on April 29. It shows Mrs. Alliluyeva trying on shoes at a Long Island department store. The caption notes: "Mrs. Alliluyeva bought one pair of shoes."



Editorial notebook

"Treat us nicely—or else"

"There is growling and grumbling in the friendly skies of United. Eastern, which says it wants everyone to fly, has instead convinced some folks not to—at least on Eastern. And Braniff's pastel planes and Pucci-clad stewardesses cut no ice with the coterie of travelers who call it 'the biggest unscheduled airline in the world.'"

Thus *The Wall Street Journal* started an article on April 21 on increasing passenger complaints about airlines.

The *Journal* is considered a highly business-oriented publication. Yet no more than a handful of newspapers in the nation would have dared to start an article with such a statement.

Occasionally some advertiser has tried the old pressure tactics on the *Journal* without success. Some ten years ago General Motors, displeased with a *Journal* article, canceled its advertising in the paper. Later it came quietly back into the fold.

Surprisingly, one of the most recent advertisers to try to blur the line between advertising and editorial integrity is the country's largest-circulation daily, the *New York Daily News*. On March 18 the *Journal* published a major article appraising the *News*. It dealt with the *News*'s emphasis on crime and sex, praised its tight and skillful editing, and reported how both its circulation and profits had fallen as the education level of citizens rose. Indignant, the *News* canceled its rather limited advertising in the *Journal*.

Magazines—an assessment

As one of five judges for the National Magazine Award, the undersigned examined some seventy-five magazines that had been nominated. These impressions, shared by most or all of the other judges*, seem worth reporting.

¶ There is a healthy and growing tendency among the most popular magazines to provide adult treatment of complex issues that once would have been considered "too heavy" for large audiences. *Look* and *Life* provide good examples.

¶ Coverage of cultural subjects has been steadily improving, with *Life* particularly notable.

¶ Throughout 1966, general magazines tended to over-exploit such familiar subjects as LSD and Mrs. Kennedy.

¶ There has been steady improvement in layout and design, as reflected in skilled use of white space, full-scale treatment of striking photographs, and tasteful choice of type faces. *Vogue* seemed outstanding in use of photography.

¶ Among newsmagazines, the judges applauded *Newsweek*'s departure from anonymity by identifying the authors of reviews and appraisal articles. *Time*'s "Essay" seemed a praiseworthy innovation, thoroughly researched and well written (and often more balanced than some of the news articles).

¶ Flamboyant, overselling cover labels and headings are happily declining but are still evident in some middle-circulation magazines. Examples: "The Astonishing Truth About Girl Dropouts" (*Parents*); "Here, once and for all, is the truth about teen-agers and drugs" (*Ingenue*).

¶ Magazines in 1966 were not noteworthy for courage in challenging established mores.

¶ There is growing maturity, sophistication, and freedom from taboos among many religious magazines. *Motive* (Methodist) is a noteworthy case.

¶ The table of contents is still the hardest-to-find item in many magazines.

* Jacques Barzun, Ralph McGill, Theodore Peterson, and Theodore Rousseau.

Bows

¶ To J. Montgomery Curtis as he leaves the executive directorship of the American Press Institute at Columbia to join the Knight Newspapers and to his former associate and able successor, Walter Everett. Their pragmatic guidance of newspapermen's seminars has helped make API an effective force for press improvement.

¶ To John Fischer, stepping out of the editorship of *Harper's* after thirteen years in which the magazine has grown, largely on the basis of its stimulating public-affairs content.

EDWARD W. BARRETT

THE FCC'S WHOLESALE LICENSING

On March 7, 1967, the Federal Communications Commission issued notice that it had granted renewal of licenses to five small radio stations in Florida. The action was routine, except that dissents from two commissioners were attached. Kenneth A. Cox, a member of the commission since 1963, pleaded that the licenses of forty-three stations then under consideration ought not to be renewed without further investigation. Nicholas Johnson, appointed in 1966, accused the commission of neglecting its obligations. Excerpts from the two dissents are printed here.

Cox: "More than a jukebox"

I wish to record my dissent to the renewal of certain AM radio stations—some already renewed, a few being renewed at this time, and some to be renewed in the future. I do not believe we should renew—as the majority has voted to do—without making further inquiry to determine whether these stations are, in fact, reasonably serving the ascertainable needs of their communities.

Let us consider what we had before us when we acted on these renewals.

- 1 station (WGPN) proposes no news programs
- 3 stations (WDCJ, WAYR, WRHC) propose from .6% to 1.6% news
- 7 stations (WDCJ, WGNB, WGNP, WMEN, WIVV, WOGN, WONS) propose no public affairs programs
- 6 stations (WSBB, WKIZ, WJNO, WZEP, WYOU, WAXE) propose from .03% to .4% public affairs

10 stations (WFUN, WJCM, WOKB, WQIK, WDLP, WMOP, WONN, WFFG, WCOF, WSUN) propose from .6% to .9% public affairs

1 station (WOCN) proposes no public affairs or other (Agricultural, Religious, Instructional programs)

5 stations (WSBB, WJNO, WFUN, WOKB, WZST) propose from .1% to 2.6% public affairs and other

9 stations (WAPA, WHOO, WDCJ, WGGG, WIRK, WZEP, WKWF, WFFG, WVOZ) propose from 3.0% to 3.9% public affairs and other

15 stations (WJCM, WOGO, WNSM, WALT, WROD, WIXX, WMBR, WVJP, WLEO, WONS, WKIZ, WMFJ, WNEL, WINT, WBOP) propose from 4.0% to 4.9% public affairs and other.

The above is the only information before the majority when they voted to renew the licenses of these stations. I think that these bare data call for inquiry rather than routine renewal.

Consider the matter of news programming. Broadcasters talk very persuasively—and at length—about their journalistic functions, and we have licensed many stations for small communities on the representation that there was a need for a local outlet for community expression, usually with special emphasis on news and public affairs. WGPN is the only station assigned to Indian Rocks Beach, Florida, a community of some 2,000 population near, but not contiguous to, St. Petersburg. In its last renewal it proposed 3.9% news, but in its 1966 composite week it broadcast none at all and it proposes none for the future.

WAYR is the only station assigned to Orange Park, Florida, a community some 13 miles from

downtown Jacksonville with a population of some 2,600. In fact, as far as I can determine, it is the only station in Clay County, which has a population of about 20,000. It proposes to devote 1.4% of a typical week to news. As a daytimer it has varying hours, so it is perhaps better to talk about it on an hourly basis. Thus considered, the station represents that it will present .84 of a minute of news per hour, with no allowance of any time for a morning or evening news roundup of, say, 10 or 15 minutes. In fact, if we assume a day on which the station was broadcasting for 13 hours, its total news time would be less than 11 minutes for the whole day. And I think this kind of a representation says something about the *kind* of news the station will present. It would hardly seem likely that so minimal an effort would be thought to justify any local news staff.

WHRC is one of 10 AM stations assigned to Jacksonville (one of which may not be on the air yet). It proposes 1.6% news, or .96 of a minute per hour. While it is true that the other stations no doubt provide a more extensive news service, it seems to me that one of two things must be true. Either this station has an audience which listens principally to its programming and gets virtually no news, or its audience listens to its other programs but turns to other stations for news. If the first, a segment of the public is less informed than it should be as to news developments; if the latter, the station is shirking part of its responsibility and letting other stations in the community bear the cost of providing the people of Jacksonville with radio news. I think neither alternative is a desirable one. I have checked on this station and it has substantial revenues and produces what I would imagine most broadcasters would regard as a satisfactory salary-profit figure. I do not think we should routinely renew a station in these circumstances which proposes so little in the way of news. It seems to me that it—and I'm afraid other stations—are downgrading their commitments in the more expensive and difficult, and often less popular, program categories because they feel the majority of the Commission won't do anything about it.

Public affairs programs constitute another important aspect of broadcast journalism. Broad-

casters have claimed that many, many small communities require stations which can discuss local affairs, present local candidates, editorialize on local issues, and otherwise serve as a means of local expression. The Commission has recognized this as an important area of broadcast service. Yet here we have seven stations which propose no programs of this type at all. This includes the only station in Arlington, Florida, a community of 23,000 nearly adjacent to Jacksonville; the only station in Indian Rocks Beach (discussed above); one of two stations in Panama City Beach, Florida; the only station on the Island of Vieques off Puerto Rico; and two of the four AM stations in Tallahassee, the capital of Florida. Certainly these seem to me situations in which we should inquire further before accepting total absence of any programming in this important program category....

Radio is now some forty-five years old. Surely it should strive to be—with due allowance for the admitted need for a viable economic base—something more than a juke box, a ball park, and a news ticker. If it is permitted to aim no higher than this, I think a vital resource for community service will be squandered—and this agency will be largely responsible for that result.

Johnson: "See-no-evil slouch"

I dissent from the almost complete lack of concern for the programming performance and proposals of licensed stations the Commission evidences by this action.

It is appropriate that this Commission give attention to the painting and location of antenna towers, and that it enforce licensees' compliance with the engineering standards of frequency and power essential to an orderly national system of broadcasting.

But to assume that such actions are the beginning and end of our responsibility in licensing radio stations seems, to me, to ignore what the broadcasting business and our statutory mandate are all about.

Broadcasting is programming. It is probably *the* most powerful means of mass communications

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man has ever turned loose upon himself. It gains its power not from kilowatts but from content — from its capacity to create and contort the mind and spirit of a nation.

Individual broadcasters operate and program at the pleasure of the American people, as limited licensees of the public's airwaves. Most broadcasters of my acquaintance take this responsibility seriously — as conscientious citizens and as proud professional men, as well as in their capacity as responsible FCC licensees.

But this agency also has its responsibility: to renew the broadcasting licenses of none but those licensees serving the public interest. How can that responsibility best be exercised with regard to the programming product of the station owner?

I would be among the last to make hasty proposals as to how the Commission's responsibility can best be exercised. I would be among the first to caution of the real dangers of governmental abridgement of our freedoms of speech and press. Even had I the power to do so, I would be disinclined to impose my personal standards of taste upon millions of American listeners and viewers. Governmental previewing of all commercial radio and television shows, or the prescribing of their program formats is, quite wisely, out of the question under our American system.

There are many paths open to a Commission in search of a responsible and effective way to contribute to better programming in the public interest. The alternatives need not be politically unrealistic, offensive to the broadcasting establishment, or appear the hallmark of a "tough regulator." Indeed, some proposals might even be seen by the industry as far preferable to what they must now endure.

It is even conceivable that rational analysis might lead a reasonable man to conclude that the public interest in programming would be best served by encouraging broadcasters to select those program formats that will create the greatest possible advertising revenue. If that position — held

by some broadcasters — has now been endorsed by the present Commission majority, as it appears to have been, I would prefer that we make this an explicit, public, reasoned judgment rather than go through the motions of *appearing* to review against a public interest standard when in fact doing nothing of the sort.

But the Commission can do nothing until it is willing to alter its present complacent and comfortable hear-no-evil, see-no-evil slouch in front of the radio and television sets of America.

The matter presently before the Commission would appear to be relatively routine — if the staff and majority's response is any indication. In fact, that is the heart of the problem. The FCC's Broadcast Bureau is about to issue renewal licenses to 206 standard broadcast stations in Florida, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands for three-year terms beginning February 1, 1967.

The Commission's current ambivalence, born of the conflict between authority and inaction, is revealed in the searching questionnaire which each renewal applicant must fill out, but which is then put to little if any useful purpose whatsoever by the Commission. Each applicant for renewal must indicate what proportion of his programming he proposes for a number of categories, such as news, public affairs, and "other" (meaning agricultural, religious and instructional).

Let's examine them for a moment. In the group whose applications for renewal the Commission now approves:

Two stations propose no news programming whatsoever.

Seven propose no public affairs programming — a total of 23 conceding they plan less than 1%.

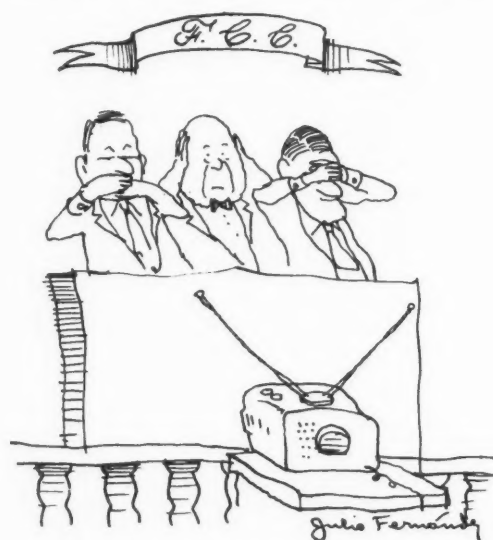
A total of 88 stations plan to spend less than 5% of their time on all "other" (agricultural, religious and instructional) programming combined.

And note that these are "just promises." Promises that licensees can assume will be ignored by this federal regulatory commission (judging by today's action).

What is the point of pretending this is anything other than the total abdication of Commission re-

sponsibility that must be obvious to any casual observer? The point, of course, is that millions of Americans are reassured in the belief that there is an FCC in Washington, reassured in the assumption that the federal government is insisting the public's airwaves be operated in the public interest. The point is that, through inaction, the government enables the occasional irresponsible broadcaster to walk the streets of his community with head high.

Ultimately, of course, responsible regulators must formulate useful and appropriate procedures for Commission evaluation of programming in the public interest. In devising such procedures one would hope for means that are effective, appro-



priate, legal, fully considerate of the owner's investment and professional experience, and fully representative of local interests. But so long as we do that, the method we choose is in no sense as important as that we stop abiding the foolishness that Section 326 ["Nothing . . . shall give the Commission the power of censorship over . . . radio communications . . ."] renders us impotent.

I agree with Commissioner Cox that — given the Commission's present standards and procedures and the past promises of these 206 licensees — the licenses of some of the broadcasters presently before us ought not to be renewed without further examination. I am much less certain, however,

that the prescription of programming categories is necessarily the best long range, overall approach for this Commission to take. Local conditions do vary.

Moreover, the number of stations in a community are relevant in evaluating the programming of each. Presumably most people would agree that broadcasters in one or two-station markets should program a wide variety of services — including a substantial amount of news and public affairs. In the major markets, where ten or twenty stations may be available, the listener may be able to receive an "all news" station, the networks' news and other programming, and a "community" or "educational" station providing treatment of local issues. Considering the programming available to such a community as a whole, it may be that little harm is done by other stations providing mostly talk shows, classical music, or rock-and-roll. But these are not the extremes we deal with today.

Perhaps, rather than devising a more effective role for the FCC, we (and the broadcasting industry) should welcome greater public participation in program judgments. Would some well-publicized, community-wide local hearings into the public service of selected radio stations — like those in Chicago and Omaha for television stations — be useful at the time of license renewals? Should we provide more meaningful opportunity for applicants competing for those stations doing least well in serving their communities? Should we make efforts to encourage more letter-writing from the public to the FCC and the broadcasters? Could ratings services, or other polling techniques, be turned to better advantage? Should we provide more precise procedures to be used by broadcasters in surveying the programming needs of the communities they serve? Would it be useful for someone, perhaps the broadcasters themselves, to identify the most important issues confronting the communities involved and the broadcasters' response to those issues? Could periodic, publicized, transcribed "open mike" programs, inviting public comment on the station's service, be turned to useful purpose? In polling public opinion, how can we gather information about possible listener and viewer preference for the kinds of alternative

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programming they are not now receiving and have not experienced?

Two conclusions are clear. First, there are many courses open to us that could vastly improve broadcasting and its vital role in our society without engaging in the fruitless debate about possible "censorship" that leaves us divided and motionless. Second, within the experience of this Commission, America's great broadcasting industry, and its thoughtful students and critics simply must lie viable alternatives to the abdication of responsibility evidenced by the Commission's approach to the renewals approved today.

"Teach-in at the FCC"

Excerpts from editorial in Broadcasting magazine, March 13, 1967:

Once again last week the FCC's youngest mem-

ber, Nicholas Johnson, sounded off against his elders. This time Mr. Johnson found grievous fault with the FCC majority's assent to the routine approval of some 200 radio-station license renewals.

Mr. Johnson, in a statement that attracted wide attention, including page-one display in the influential *Washington Post*, demanded a wholesale revision of the commission's system of evaluating broadcast programming. He did so in language that can only inflame the antagonisms that he had created in earlier criticisms of FCC policies and actions. . . . He sounded as if he might be warming up to conduct a teach-in at the FCC.

It is interesting to contrast Mr. Johnson's statement of last week with one issued coincidentally by Commissioner Kenneth A. Cox, who for years has been an unwavering advocate of federal supervision of broadcast programming. Mr. Johnson took issue with the FCC's fundamental approach to the whole matter of program surveillance. Mr. Cox confined his dissent to several specific cases that failed to meet his private standards of balanced programming. By comparison to Mr. Johnson, Mr. Cox was almost conservative, a label this publication has not previously thought to pin on him.

How to deal with the press

Excerpts from "Advice to a New Governor from Edmund G. Brown," a "letter" to Ronald Reagan in West, the Los Angeles Times magazine, February 26, 1967:

As you must have noticed by now, the press fires the first real bullets at new governors. And the hardest lesson to learn is that it is futile to fire back. Never get into an argument with a newspaper unless you own it. A newspaper fails to get in the last word only if it goes broke in mid-debate.

Publishers in California generally will be more tolerant of a governor before he raises taxes, much as a young man will take more nonsense from a fiancée whose father is rich. But you will be amazed at how easily even a friendly publisher's tolerance is strained by trivial matters — a freeway route through his backyard; a rollback in government construction in his city; failure to follow his advice on the appointment of a judge.

I recommend a form letter for all disagreements with publishers which reads: "Thank you for your sincere interest in the matter of ()." This provides little in the way of ammunition for a new attack.

Charter for PTV

PUBLIC TELEVISION: A Program for Action. The Report of the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television. Harper & Row, New York, \$4.95; Bantam, New York, \$1.

The Carnegie Commission called for action and got it. Made public last January 25, the commission's report by March 2 had been transformed into a bill by Warren G. Magnuson, chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, known as the "Public Television Act of 1967," or S.1160.

S.1160 had three major aims:

1. To provide grants for construction of non-commercial educational stations.
2. To establish and finance a non-profit corporation to assist program operations in non-commercial educational broadcasting.
3. To authorize a study of instructional television and its relationship to educational television.

Appropriations of \$10.5 million (facilities), \$9 million (the corporation), and \$500,000 (the study) were recommended for 1967-68.

At communications subcommittee hearings in April, a chorus of approval rose from commercial and non-commercial quarters. Critics limited themselves to warning of the corporation's susceptibility to political influence through a President-appointed, Senate-approved board of directors. Senator John O. Pastore, who presided, predicted speedy passage.

For so momentous a piece of legislation — compared by James Reston to the Lincoln-era Morrill Act establishing land-grant colleges and public higher education in the United States — the action was incredibly swift. Perhaps too swift, for even on its face, the work bears disquieting marks of ad-lib patching.

The Carnegie Commission began with a study of educational television. It ended with a proposal for non-commercial public service television.

The quantum change was not generally recognized because over the past decade educational television stations and the program-producing National Educational Television organization have expanded

their function from teaching to programming cultural, public affairs, and children's shows.

This development led the Carnegie Commission to separate educational television into two parts — instructional and public — and then to focus on the latter as the more urgent and important.

When it appeared, the Magnuson bill, though still wearing a television label, had also been expanded to include radio. Only television had been under review by the fifteen-member Carnegie Commission.

Such are surface signs of hasty pudding. A more significant one crops up when one re-reads the Carnegie report. A crucial element missing from it is an overview of American television, both commercial and non-commercial. Although the commission confessed that it had not inquired closely into commercial television, it nevertheless reached general conclusions, expressed in promissory hyperbole.

"Television has been fashioned into a miraculous instrument," the report stated. "The opportunity is at hand to turn the instrument into the best uses of American society, and to make it of new and increased service to the general public . . .

"What confronts our society is the obligation to bring that technology into the full service of man so that its power to move image and sound is consistently coupled with a power to move mind and spirit. Television should enable us not only to see and hear more vividly, but to understand more deeply."

Nothing is wrong with such promises — except that they had been made years before by the very spokesmen of commercial broadcasting who persuaded the government to give them control of American television. For nineteen years, America has had a television system predominantly commercial, based on advertising.

"We have in mind the conception of a great service which will benefit our social and economic life, and the national ideals of our people," said General David Sarnoff of RCA at the dawn of the television age. [Italics mine.]

To utter similar vows again after almost twenty years of television reality is to acknowledge — not candidly, only implicitly — the failure of the commercial system to live up to General Sarnoff's prom-

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ise. And to expect the public to listen as if it had not heard all this before is naive if not insulting.

Absence of an overview has led the Carnegie Commission to accept — and propose to perpetuate — our current dual television system. Educational television today is a system of relatively strong stations — supported by school systems, local government, and communities — and a weak network (NET). This would make sense if educational television were still predominantly instructional. It makes none at all with cultural, news, and public-affairs programming.

In commercial television, networks dominate stations. Across the country, programming of the three major commercial networks rules the airwaves in peak viewing periods. The programming comprises primarily one service, that of light entertainment as a mass-audience attraction for advertisers.

To provide the American public a real choice of prime-time viewing, it would be necessary to have a national non-commercial service capable of offering real alternatives to the commercial networks. Yet the commission recommended against establishment of a non-commercial network — which is the heart and strength of the Ford Foundation proposal to subsidize non-commercial television by commercial television use of a communications satellite.

Finally there is the question of long-range financing. The commission's central proposal is an excise tax on television sets, eventually expected to bring in \$100 million a year.

To this the writer of a letter to *The New York Times*, W. L. Schubert, retorted:

"It is not reasonable or right to triple-tax the public for the dubious 'pleasure' of watching TV — first through payment for the advertising which is certainly billed into the product cost; secondly through having to watch the witless and boorish commercials; and now as you propose through contributing directly for what we had a right to in the first place."

One of the supplementary papers of *Public Television* report offers illuminating economic data suggesting the proper direction of financing.

"Television in the United States is predominantly commercial television," writes Dr. Hyman H. Goldin, executive secretary of the commission.

"...there are five commercial television stations for each educational station. In operating income the disparity is even greater: commercial television operates at a level in excess of \$2 billion a year; educational television at about 3 per cent of that amount..."

"Television is the dominant medium for national advertising. In 1965, network television billings were \$338 million for ABC, \$492 million for CBS, and 430 million for NBC. In the same year advertising revenues for *Life*, *Time*, and *Look* combined were \$323 million."

This is the big picture of American television: an economic chasm between the private wealth being made from commercial use of the public airwaves, and the poverty of educational television, to which only a tiny trickle of private funds returns.

Is it not fitting that funding of a new non-commercial service be sought first from commercial operators and advertisers whose public-service failure has made the new service necessary?

The time was — and still is — ripe for a re-evaluation of national goals in American television, both commercial and non-commercial.

The commission chose instead to examine educational television almost in isolation. It has now put into motion a clumsy apparatus — the corporation — that is nothing more than a holding company based on the perpetuation of public television as a supplementary service to the "services" provided by commercial television in variety, thriller, and situation comedy shows.

Perhaps in time the corporation will evolve into a network with a news organization and other facilities to provide serious competition to the existing commercial system, all of which are needed in America on a basis of non-commercial considerations. The start was not a good one.

The swift action the commission set into motion is not the thoughtful reaction to a long-range problem, that the American public deserves. That problem, to quote General Sarnoff again, is the establishment of "a great service which will benefit our social and economic life, and the national ideals of our people."

JOHN HORN

John Horn, former television critic-reporter for the New York Herald Tribune, Variety, and the New York Star, now covers television for the Bell-McClure Newspapers Syndicate and The Nation.

Enlightened interlude

THE PRESS AND VATICAN II. By Edward L. Heston, C.H.C. University of Notre Dame Press. \$4.95.

Late in 1965, when the Ecumenical Council was drawing to a close, a group of correspondents based in Rome signed a petition asking Pope Paul VI to continue the information facilities that had been set up for the Council. We suggested that Father Edward L. Heston, who had served with distinction as the English-language press officer during most of the Council, be placed in charge of Vatican information activities following the Council.

As far as I know, the Vatican never acknowledged the petition, and the information practices of the Council years have largely lapsed. There is a Vatican Press Office of sorts whose spokesman is available to reporters on Tuesdays and Fridays. Father Heston has returned to his work as the representative in Rome for his religious order, the Congregation of the Holy Cross. In short, the Vatican has reverted to its pre-Council posture regarding the dissemination of information.

Father Heston traces the press policy of the Ecumenical Council from "the original naive assumption that 2500 prelates could meet in privacy and virtual secrecy for parts of four years." Beginning with the Council's second session in 1963 things improved. Press-officer priests, including Father Heston, were admitted to each Council session.

They rushed from St. Peter's Basilica at the conclusion of the day's meeting to give wire-agency reporters and others a bulletin fill-in. Several hours later a panel of priest-experts assembled by the American bishops met with reporters to answer questions and provide doctrinal and historical background necessary to understand the broad implications of the Council deliberations, in what amounted to "a school of theology for journalists," as one put it. These frank and interesting daily meetings and the anytime-of-day availability of men like Father Heston to answer questions made the Ecumenical Council unique in this regard.

Father Heston's thin volume lacks the anecdotes, the personalized detail, the revealing incident to make it the press-history counterpart of Xavier Rynne's brilliant insight into Vatican II. The book does indicate Pope Paul's fundamentally suspicious attitude toward the press; one papal statement ex-

plains the Vatican's disinclination to provide information: "The reserve of the Holy See is due to . . . the fear, unhappily well founded, of being misinterpreted."

Father Heston's necessarily restrained attitude permits him to recite only the bare facts. A fascinating story remains to be told about the interplay among individuals at the Vatican who were responsible for the creation of a first-rate press policy during the Council and its demise afterwards.

IRVING R. LEVINE

Irving R. Levine is the NBC News correspondent in Rome, where he covered the Ecumenical Council. He is the author of several books including Main Street, U.S.S.R. and Main Street, Italy.

Interplay

THE ARTILLERY OF THE PRESS: Its Influence on American Foreign Policy. By James Reston. Council on Foreign Relations, Harper & Row, New York. \$3.95.

"The artillery of the press," (Thomas Jefferson's phrase) is losing some of its fire power, James Reston contends. "We [the press] may be a nuisance," he writes, "but we are not a menace. And the way power is running to the President, it would be unwise, I think, to concentrate too much on weakening whatever influence we have left."

This book is a liberal adaptation of Reston's Elihu Root Lectures, delivered in New York under the auspices of the Council on Foreign Relations. Over the years the Root Lectures have had an appreciable role in the course of American foreign policy. George Kennan's 1963-1964 series, "On Dealing With the Communist World," helped cause a maturation of American attitudes away from feverish name-calling and toward a cool-headed, thoughtful approach. Dean Rusk's 1959 series on "Problems of Leadership" in foreign policy provided a thoughtful analysis that influenced his subsequent appointment as Secretary of State.

James Reston's 1965-1966 series of lectures seems unlikely to propel its author into high office or to revolutionize any aspect of foreign policy. It may,

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The United States had a press before it had a foreign policy. This explains a large part of the tension between its reporters and its officials even today. The American press was telling the country and the world where to get off before there was a State Department.

* * *

Journalism and foreign policy in America are even harder to reconcile. The Secretary of State must think in generations and continents, but the reporter thinks in "stories," in "minutes," and often in "fragments." One profession is quiet, the other noisy; one slow, the other fast; one precise, the other imprecise. What makes their relationship even more difficult is that they are stuck with one another.

They are married without the possibility of divorce, separation, or even an occasional period of quiet. The government is always acting and the press is always blabbing and criticizing...

* * *

Every President develops his own defenses... President Roosevelt scorned and ridiculed his questioners... Asking President Truman a question was like pitching batting practice to the Yankees. He decapitated you and then grinned. President Eisenhower was amiably incomprehensible. President Kennedy, the real master of "the game," was a witty computer. He either overwhelmed you with decimal points or disarmed you with a smile and a wisecrack. And President Johnson learned early to apply to the press conferences the technique of the Senate filibuster.

* * *

Everybody knows how often the American voters reject the advice of newspapers in local, state, and national elections: one word from us and they do as they please.

* * *

A little more self-analysis and a little less self-admiration would not hurt our business.

* * *

Proposals have been made for the formation of a press council, like the bar association, that could pass on the ethics of its members. But what do you do when Drew Pearson comes up with thousands of incriminating documents out of a Senator's private files: disbar him or give him the Pulitzer Prize?

— From *The Artillery of the Press*

however, help in the long run to make relations between press and diplomacy a little smoother and more rational. More certainly, it will help cement Reston's reputation as a wise, urbane, and witty student of the national scene.

The author touches many points covered in a different way in Bernard Cohen's excellent *The Press and Foreign Policy*, published in 1963. This is not to suggest even unconscious plagiarism but rather to note the fact that good minds, viewing this particular complex, are likely to see many of the same problems and to make similar suggestions.

Both books, each in its distinctive and intelligent way, report in detail the continuing interplay of press and foreign policy—the effect of the leak, calculated or inadvertent; cases where press enterprise seems to have served the public good; the use of press channels by officials to communicate to another government something it prefers not to communicate in a formal diplomatic message; instances in which news stories have actually provoked important government pronouncements or actions; the technique of diversion, of giving out harmless news that is complicated enough to keep reporters off the trail of more sensitive news; the record of skillful Presidents in manipulating the press; presidential use of the device of placing a story with a chosen correspondent (to the point where it has been said that the Ship of State is the only known vessel that consistently leaks at the top); the importance of newspapers in communication within the government; the misuse by both sides of the "off-the-record" device, including the awesome consequences of Richard Nixon's trying to talk off the record to an audience of a thousand.

As in most studies of complex issues, Reston's analysis of the ailments is better than his prescriptions. That is natural, since there can be no blanket cure, only possible palliatives. He urges less press attention to isolated events as opposed to basic trends and developments behind events. He sees journalism as perhaps too important to be left to journalists and suggests more interpretative articles by scholars and specialists. He sees need for development of an elite corps of highly intelligent and superbly educated young newsmen. And he hopes that more of our media will find ways to serve that "remnant" of society that is conscientiously seeking enlightenment and sophisticated discussion of public issues.

EDWARD W. BARRETT

REPORT ON REPORTS

The following are summaries and reviews of articles and other current material dealing with journalism. They were prepared by the editor with assistance from the editorial staff.

Staring at trouble

THE NATIONAL NEWSPAPER INDUSTRY: A Survey, 1966. Economist Intelligence Unit.

The text of this 630-page report reveals it to be as direct and uncompromising as news summaries of it early in 1967 had suggested. It treats Britain's eighteen nationally circulated newspapers strictly as an industry that happens to be in deep trouble. One vivid image in particular describes the situation:

"When a newspaper closes it automatically strengthens the position of its closest competitors, but it does not remove the underlying weaknesses of the industry. It appears to us that the industry is like a balloon. As the balloon loses gas and starts to come down a newspaper goes over the side, thus lightening the load for the remainder and allowing the balloon to rise. This does not add any more gas, however, and after a time the balloon starts to descend again, until another newspaper has to go over the side."

The report, compiled for the industry by an independent research organization, goes so far as to predict that by 1972 four more newspapers will go over the side: one quality daily newspaper (*Daily Telegraph*, *Guardian*, *Times*, or *Financial Times*); two popular daily newspapers (the *Mirror*, *Express*, *Mail*, *Sun*, or *Sketch*); and one quality Sunday newspaper (*Sunday Times*, *Observer*, or *Sunday Telegraph*).

The chief value of the report for an American reader lies less in its prophecies than in its analysis of the operation of the papers and of their markets. The parallels with the dilemmas of many units of the American metropolitan press are obvious and numerous. The report performs a service by analogy in maintaining that the plight of Britain's national

press can be laid wholly neither to the greed and stubbornness of unions nor to the inefficiencies and idiosyncrasies of managements, although neither is blameless. Rather, the report suggests, there are circumstances in which running certain kinds of newspapers is just poor business, especially in a diminishing advertising market and a soggy national economy.

The conclusions reached in the report do not do justice to its data and complexity, but are listed here to offer an idea of its tone and range. In the management domain, the report concludes:

¶ "There is an urgent need for more detailed budgetary and cost control schemes . . ."

¶ "The natural respect for editorial freedom has, in some areas, been allowed to overshadow business principles."

¶ "... sharp changes in publicity expenditure have little or no effect on the circulation trend."

¶ "Greater co-operation on various items of research might be of benefit to the industry . . ."

¶ "Increases in the price of newspapers bring a declining percentage increase in total revenue."

¶ "Approximately half the industry is operating at a loss . . ."

On production:

¶ "Little use is made of normal production engineering, planning and control techniques . . ."

¶ "The evaluation of new equipment and techniques often appears to be carried out in a haphazard manner. Where new equipment is installed it is not always used to its full effectiveness due to difficulties in agreeing [on] manning standards."

¶ "Manning standards are usually set by horse trading, and often bear little relationship to the needs of the job."

¶ "The present wages structure is a jungle . . ."

¶ "Many departments are heavily overmanned . . ."

On unions:

¶ "The number of unions represented on the production floor naturally leads to some friction . . ."

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¶ "The salaries and security of many union officials is not commensurate with their responsibilities."

On training:

¶ "There is little training of either management or trade unionists. This is perhaps the greatest weakness of the industry."

¶ "The present system of apprentice training is unsuitable for the future needs of the industry."

Obviously, many of these comments could be written — and indeed have been written — about the troubled portions of the American newspaper industry. The parallels are instructive, but the method may be even more instructive. Perhaps the American newspaper business could learn something about its prospects if it were to submit to the same kind of scrutiny the Joint Board for the National Newspaper Industry has permitted. But it is as yet hard to imagine a report sponsored by a national publishers' association in the United States saying of a leading newspaper group (as the report says of Beaverbrook Newspapers): "... the present management structure methods and control systems are in our opinion unsuitable for long-term business needs, and will almost certainly need to be reorganized when the present Executive Chairman retires."

News is not enough

"Anatomy of a Failure" by Calvin Mayne. EDITORIAL SPEAKING . . . , 1966.

The annual volume of introspective articles by staff members in the Gannett Group of Newspapers includes this item by the associate editor of the Rochester *Times-Union*. At first glance the article appears to be a screed of self-castigation for the failure of the Gannett papers to cover adequately the Medicaid bill, New York state's legislation to provide medical assistance in conjunction with the federal Medicare law. In part it is that, but it turns out that Mayne's chief regret is not that the public was ill-informed, but that the Gannett papers failed to kill "this socialistic scheme," as he calls it. He notes with commendation the steps that various

Gannett newspapers did take when they awoke to the bill: the Albany and Washington bureaus dug up material against the legislation, one reporter wrote a story on how similar legislation had once failed in Washington State, city desks sought out angry doctors. Mayne's own paper "ran letters to the editor or editorial page articles protesting the bill." He and one other Gannett man made personal contact with legislators: "I believe that it's necessary to put some *personal*, if behind-the-scenes, beef behind your newspaper's editorial viewpoint." He blames an Albany Gannett reporter for not saying to the editors "that this was a bad bill which Gannett editors should view with alarm." He says that Gannett editors believed that capital bureaus "should run up a big warning flag on every bill which involves a basic matter of editorial principle." In short, he seems to call for a thorough mixing of editorial policy and news functions. The Gannett papers have largely dispelled their one-time reputation for this sort of thing; Mayne appears to be calling for a retrogression.

The non-intellectuals

"The Underdeveloped Profession," by Irving Kristol. THE PUBLIC INTEREST, Winter, 1967.

The co-editor of the quarterly sponsored by Freedom House undertakes to discuss why, in his view, American journalism remains amateur and non-intellectual. He selects *The New York Times* as his target because, as a leading newspaper, it represents a culmination of American journalism and its flaws.

What is wrong with journalists? They assume, he writes, that "all news is of one substance — only the magnitude differs"; and that "there is such a thing as journalistic expertise that renders superfluous any true expert knowledge." From these assumptions, he contends, flow the practices of the newsroom — the use of copy editors to handle material dealing with fields they know only vaguely of, the assignment of reporters on the basis of "news is news," and, finally, reluctance to use reporters on serious assignments without a "couple of boring years' experience." "Any young man of genuine intellectual distinction and/or literary ability," he writes, "would be out of his mind to go to work for the *Times*, or to contemplate a journalistic career in general."

Kristol's sole recommendation for journalism seems to be the adoption of experts or specialists.

Today's journalists he sees as hopelessly trapped by their perspectives, attitudes, and mechanics: "They are sensitive to the structure of 'a good news story,' ... but they are far less sensitive to the higher standards of knowledgeability that are demanded both by the complexities of modern society and by the academic-professional contributions to the 'information explosion' that threatens to overwhelm us all. They worry about a reporter smuggling his personal opinions into a news story and remain oblivious to the need for good judgment if the story is to have any value at all."

Much of Kristol's argument must be granted by any serious journalist. Certainly journalism must break old patterns if it is to deal adequately with the latter half of twentieth century. But Kristol may rest too much faith in the "knowledgeability" (by dictionary definition a colloquialism for "having or showing knowledge or shrewdness") of the academic professional world, which has built-in lag mechanisms of its own, and sometimes has little or no support to offer the journalist seeking knowledge (or knowledgeability).

Semi-reports

"The Real Masters of Television," by Robert Eck. *HARPER'S*, March, 1967.

An advertising man analyzes American commercial television, the world's most successful "audience-delivery" system, and concludes that it cannot be changed significantly. In passing, he dismisses the "myths" of the "Evil Adman," the rating services, the "Unenlightened Sponsors," the "Enlightened Sponsors," the "Stupid Bureaucratic Networks," and the "Benevolent Government Power." With all myths banished, it is time for him to disclose the "real masters." But he does not — the article simply ends with a prediction that the system will go on as is.

"It's Sensational!" by A. Kent MacDougall. *THE WALL STREET JOURNAL*, March 15, 1967.

The *Daily News*, New York's and the country's most widely read newspaper, is often overlooked. It is safe to estimate that a dozen articles about *The New York Times* appear for every one about the *News*. In this article, A. Kent MacDougall goes

a long way toward remedying the neglect by giving the *News*, especially its news and editorial policies, a thorough working-over. The *News* is damned for exploiting sex stories, for using phony house bylines, for excessive photo retouching, and for occasional editorializing in news stories. Overall, he draws the picture of a once-vital news organization in decline and slowly and reluctantly making the transition to a newer generation.

Dialogue at a distance

"The American Newspaper Is Neither Record, Mirror, Journal, Ledger, Bulletin, Telegram, Examiner, Register, Chronicle, Gazette, Observer, Monitor, Transcript nor Herald of the Day's Events," by Ben H. Bagdikian. *ESQUIRE*, March, 1967.

"The Wayward Critic," by Dwight Sargent. George W. Polk Memorial Lecture, New York, March 21, 1967.

The article under the characteristically hemorrhaged *Esquire* title is a general appraisal of American newspapers in terms that will be familiar in part to readers of Ben H. Bagdikian's articles in the *Review*. To it was added an imaginative fillip: a remodeling of page one of the *Daytona Beach Morning Journal* for August 18, 1966, into the *Hypothetical Morning Journal* of the same date, the latter being intended to show more and better serious news.

The newspaper profession appeared to take the Bagdikian analysis in stride until Dwight Sargent, curator of the Nieman Foundation at Harvard, arose before an audience that included *Esquire's* publisher, Arnold Gingrich, and accused Bagdikian of stumbling into "gross exaggeration."

The flavor of the debate is revealed here by arranging segments as a dialogue:

BAGDIKIAN: A few [newspapers] are excellent, most are mediocre, and many are wretched. The quality of reporting and editing has increased markedly in the last generation but this is no contradiction of the fact that most newspapers are failing in their present duty. The new urgency in local and national public events, the faster reaction time of all social movement, and the dramatic change in the nature of the American audience is widening the gap between the responsibilities of the press and its performance.

SARGENT: If what Mr. Bagdikian says is true, the work of our journalistic pioneers has gone for

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nought, people who work for newspapers are engaged in a dismal and retrogressive profession, the newspaper reader is being cheated every day, and no young man or woman should be lured into a career of such chaos and decay. Happily, the newspaper picture is not that bleak.

BAGDIKIAN: The unique strength of the American daily is its roots in its own community, yet indifferent and narrow local leadership of papers has encouraged galloping consolidations . . . The good papers today are run by strong men, almost never by a committee or by trustees or by absentee owners.

SARGENT: His glib assumption that newspaper chains are impersonal, whereas local ownership gets close to the people, does a disservice to the chains, and to the facts.

BAGDIKIAN: The "new monopoly" is that of groups, a word evolved from the old-fashioned "chain," as "funeral director" is from "undertaker." . . . They are growing like wildfire. Ten years ago there were ninety-four groups that controlled 491 papers. Today there are 154 groups . . . that control 752 dailies.

SARGENT: Note that word "wildfire." It is a subtly prejudicial term . . . Chain-ownership wildfire, if you want to call it that, has spread into Charlotte, North Carolina; Albany and Rochester, New York; Cleveland, Ohio; Miami, Florida; Portland, Oregon; and other communities where journalism at its best is practiced by chain newspapers.

BAGDIKIAN: Samuel Newhouse, who controls eighteen* papers, . . . appears to be uninterested in the local editorial product; his purchase agreement usually keeps in office the same crew that allowed the paper to drift. He brings in essentially national caliber credit, rational management, accounting, purchasing and marketing. By applying ordinary business methods he makes money where others threw it away. Editorially his papers usually are neither better nor worse than before. He makes it easy for them to be better in some ways. He maintains a fairly enterprising Washington bureau whose output is available but not mandatory for member

papers. The best reporting in depth from this bureau is regularly picked up by only two members of the chain.

SARGENT: Mr. Bagdikian is right about home rule. Mr. Newhouse does leave newspaper management in the hands of those from whom he purchases. But he is wrong to conclude that this insures sterility or that Mr. Newhouse does not care. Before Mr. Newhouse bought the Portland *Oregonian* in 1950 it won a Pulitzer Prize for editorial writing. Afterwards, in 1956, *The Oregonian*, under the same editors, stuck its neck out in a crime investigation . . . and won another Pulitzer Prize. Who can truthfully conclude from this that chain ownership puts a damper on crusading journalism which local ownership does not?

BAGDIKIAN: This crucial national institution [the newspaper] is run by a multitude of mostly parochial businessmen selected by worse-than-conventional corporate happenstance. Colleges and shoe factories select their leaders with more care than is shown in the process by which men come to operate daily papers.

SARGENT: Publishers are indeed selected in a variety of ways other than those known to colleges and shoe factories. The senior Mr. Sulzberger of *The New York Times* married the boss's daughter. Mr. Otis Chandler and Mr. John Cowles, Jr., happen to be the boss's sons. Mr. Gene Robb of the Albany papers, owned by Hearst, and Mr. Irwin Maier of *The Milwaukee Journal*, owned by the employees, are hired hands. If this be "corporate happenstance," I say "long live corporate happenstance." It produces some great publishers.

BAGDIKIAN: The most stultifying intellectual element in the press of the last two generations has been editorial rigidity in ideology, except that most editorial-page philosophy has not been sufficiently developed to be called ideology. It has gone far beyond presidential endorsements, though these were impressive: since the New Deal and until the Johnson phenomenon of 1964, American dailies have given Democrats no more than twenty-three per cent support. This is only one sign of the alienation of most papers from their audience. To this day John Maynard Keynes is a profane name in editorials . . . Editorial pages helped make the word "Washington" a symbol of corruption and waste. "Planning" of any kind by any governmental unit for any purpose used to be considered un-American . . . Editorials didn't influence elections, but they have established the popular vocabulary of political and

*Sargent corrected this number to twenty-one in his speech.

social dialogue. It has been pinched and sterile.

SARGENT: If [presidential endorsements] were a valid sign of alienation we could say that in 1964 newspapers were reunited with the people because a majority supported Mr. Johnson. This, too, would be untrue. It is ridiculous to appraise newspaper editorial policies by their degree of agreement with voters on election day. Those who complain that editorials do not influence elections, would be the first to scream if editorials could control elections. Such editorial power would have reversed the election of 1936, and even Maine and Vermont would not have wanted that. The electorate needs brakes as well as bellwethers.

BAGDIKIAN: Trying to be a first-rate reporter on the average American newspaper is like trying to play Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* on a ukulele. The instrument is too crude for a work, for the audience, and for the performer. This is the primary reason newspapers are not getting the best journalistic talent. Only about seventeen per cent of journalism-school graduates go to newspapers.

SARGENT: It is presumptuous to say that this percentage is either good or bad. It overlooks the thousands who go into journalism other than newspapers. It overlooks talented English and history majors among our newspapermen. It overlooks journalists who never went to college at all who have become leaders in the profession. It is a statistic without meaning.

BAGDIKIAN: The owners [of three New York newspapers], impelled by an irrepressible death wish, permanently buried the best of the three, the *New York Herald Tribune*, while mating the remaining two, the *Journal-American* and *World-Telegram*, in an ingenious hybrid that preserved the worst traits of both parents.

SARGENT: It is ironic that he speaks of an "irrepressible death wish" when talking of publishers who were trying desperately to keep their newspapers alive. These publishers were forced to merge by the stupidity and selfishness of union leaders responsible for three strikes in four years.

BAGDIKIAN: Since World War II, sales of newspapers per family have dropped eighteen per cent.

SARGENT: I do not know what he is trying to say. . . . If he is trying to say that fewer people read newspapers today, I suggest he reconsider. The facts are that in 1933 total daily circulation was thirty-eight million. In 1946, with fewer newspapers, it was fifty million, and today, with slightly fewer still, it is sixty-one million.

BAGDIKIAN: In 1910 there were twenty-two-hundred dailies published in twelve hundred cities; fifty-three per cent of all urban places had their own paper. Today only twenty-four per cent of urban places have their own paper, mostly because there are many more cities, partly because the number of papers is down to 1760.

SARGENT: I am not accusing the articulate Mr. Bagdikian of being illiterate. I am accusing him of being innumerate. He plays a numbers game that leads to strange conclusions. He cannot convincingly equate reduction in numbers with reduction in quality, or alienation of talent, and certainly not alienation of readers.

BAGDIKIAN: The source of underlying trouble with newspapers is obvious . . . ; most of them are riding this easy tide, complacent in their monopoly status, without making basic reforms that they and the readers deserve. Some of the needed changes are relatively easy. Newspaper technology needs to be brought up-to-date, using science, engineering and rational problem-solving in mechanical and distribution problems. This requires a top-level, industry-wide working relationship with the craft unions, a project just recently started after years of chaos. The most fundamental reform is not so easy. Leadership and policy control on newspapers need to be made more responsive to the body politic, but sensitive to social and economic reality as a good university is to learning. Yet there is no organizational mechanism in newspapers to keep leadership responsive . . .

SARGENT: Can we by any stretch of the imagination view the American newspaper in March of 1967 as groping blindly toward the future, wretched in performance of duty, unworthy of a civilized generation? Divorced from public trust? Neither facts, figures, nor public-opinion polls provide evidence to support such bad news. The American daily is not dying on your doorstep. It stands today supported by increased circulation, which brings increased advertising, which brings more money, which brings the independence which attracts talent, which gives newspapers the tools to seek the truth, and the weapons to battle injustice. . . . Never have so many citizens depended so heavily on so few newspapers, for so much information and inspiration, with such satisfying results. The daily newspaper that is lying on your doorstep never has been better equipped to render the kind of service to mankind that keeps it in the forefront of institutions essential to the integrity of our republic. This is good news.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

A dart

The following letter was received from Harry J. Reed, managing editor of *The Pontiac (Michigan) Press*:

Re "Darts and Laurels" in your winter issue and the warning AP put on a piece by a Communist writer, The Associated Press was correct in applying this label. It protected its reputation and the expectations of the readers who assume unbiased material following the AP logo.

The "dart" in question read:

When the Associated Press distributed a story on February 7 by Wilfred Burchett, it not only identified him as an "Australian Communist writer," but warned the reader: "This article gives a Communist view and should be read in that light." A publisher, W. E. Chilton III of *The Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette* commented: "It seems to me the Associated Press went out of its way to prove to readers it is a 100 per cent, red-blooded American news-gathering organization."

In condensing, the editors of the *Review* may have distorted the point Mr. Chilton was making. Therefore his letter to the *Review* is quoted here:

The Associated Press requested Wilfred Burchett to write a story regarding Hanoi's attitude toward peace talks. He complied with the request.

I do not object to the first part of the editor's note as background information for the reader. I do

suggest, however, the phrase, "this article gives a Communist view and should be read in that light," is redundant and uncalled for.

The *Gazette* protested this sentence to AP headquarters and finally received permission to run an abbreviated version.

As I told the local Associated Press bureau chief, if we are forced to run the sentence we object to, we would seriously consider publishing AP stories out of Viet Nam with an addendum: this article gives a capitalist view and should be read in that light.

Perhaps I am wrong, but it seems to me the Associated Press went out of its way to prove to readers it is a 100 per cent, red-blooded American news-gathering organization.

Really, how silly can a fine news agency get? Does it, too, have to re-assert its patriotism each time it supplies a story that might tend to ruffle State Department feathers?

Letter from an editor

The winter issue contained an article called "How I tried to write a letter to the *Times* and found myself cut to the quick." Its author, Robert Yoakum of Lakeville, Connecticut, complained, half-humorously, of his inability to get *The New York Times* to print a letter he had written. The article provoked the following letter from the editor of the *Times* editorial page to the editorial chairman of this publication:

It really surprised me that your esteemed publication saw fit to

give as much space as it did to that silly piece by Mr. Yoakum. His letter objecting to our position on one particular Congressional contest was not published—as he well knows—because of its length. Despite his inferences, we did run letters which attacked our position on various candidates; but we did not want to fill the Letters column exclusively with election commentary and therefore deliberately ran letters on other topics at that time.

In essence, Mr. Yoakum's complaint, similar to that of many hundreds of other Letters-to-the-Editor writers, is that the *Times* did not give him the space he thought was his due. We have to make a judgment on Letters space and subject-matter every single day, and we try to exercise that judgment fairly. Mr. Yoakum's special pleading should be viewed in light of the fact that his letter would have been run if he had not been so incredibly stubborn in refusing to cut it to what we considered to be a reasonable length. Our own editorial comment on the Congressional race to which he took exception occupied not more than three or four lines.

You can use this letter in whole or in part in the next issue of the *Columbia Journalism Review* if you wish. I'd suggest that the second paragraph above would be all that's necessary, but you can use the whole thing if you care to.

JOHN B. OAKES

The *Review* forwarded Mr. Oakes' letter to Mr. Yoakum, who submitted the following response:

I should like to retract my paragraph praising Mr. Oakes for be-

ing "friendly" in the face of my "testy jabbing." I said they were "even-tempered up there on Mt. Olympus." They aren't.

Everything else stands: the *Times* seriously misled its readers by helping to elect a man to Congress from Connecticut's Sixth District whose extremely conservative views on all major foreign and domestic issues were and still are the opposite of the *Times*'s. (I'll document this charge of a 43rd Street credibility gap—at reasonable length—for anyone who writes me in Lakeville.)

Knowing of no other instance where *Times* readers would be so deceived, I tried in 1964 and 1966 to challenge this curious choice with an issue-by-issue review in the letters section. Both of my unpublished letters were inches shorter than published letters dealing with unrest in Nigeria (more than forty inches), canyon dams, the "Brain Drain," World Law, and several other less pressing non-election topics.

In the period from October 25 through November 7, 1966, *The Times* printed 332 inches of non-election letters and only 172 inches of election-related letters. I simply suggested a better balance than this—a suggestion several *Times* people applauded—not a letters column filled "exclusively with election commentary...."

Columnist's complaint

The *Review*'s editor has been carrying on a correspondence with Morrie Ryskind. Because of its volume it is impossible to reproduce here all the letters and accompanying documents. What follows is an effort to summarize.

On February 10, Mr. Ryskind sent a letter complaining of a portion in Ben Bagdikian's "The Way It Was and the Way I Call

Them," an article in the fall, 1966, issue about the accuracy of public affairs columnists. The offending paragraphs read:

In October, 1965, Morrie Ryskind wrote a column denouncing the immorality of contemporary society, a common theme among conservative writers. He attributed this to values of "the Great Society" and supported his thesis with the example that "at a girls' college affiliated with Brown University, the physician in charge hands out contraceptives to coeds. Now I am not one to insist upon branding any of these youngsters with a Scarlet 'A'—but I don't think the college ought to connive at helping them in their off-campus affairs."

The facts are that two senior girls preparing for their forthcoming marriages, went separately to the university chaplain for birth control advice. The chaplain referred them to the campus physician. The physician says he satisfied himself that the girls were about to get married and, because the pills involved the need to be started ahead of time, issued prescriptions. The two girls did marry. At least at the time of the Ryskind column, these were the only two prescriptions issued. Phrases like "hands out contraceptives to the coeds" and "helping them in their off-campus affairs," while supporting Ryskind's thesis of an orgiastic and decadent generation, are something less than a meticulous rendering of known facts.

(Ryskind suffered no serious rebuttals on this column. However, later he made sweeping accusations against The Associated Press and this led to the end of his contract with the Los Angeles Times syndicate. Ryskind, like Westbrook Pegler before him, discovered that columnists' errors about almost anything are frowned upon but forgiven by most editors, but errors about the press are going too far.)

Mr. Ryskind's letter read, in part:

... the main contention of Mr. B. — and the one I unhesitatingly

dub at least a four-letter misstatement — is that I deliberately omitted the "known facts" in order to make a point...

That item about the girls' college appeared in three local papers, and there wasn't one cotton-pickin' word in the dispatches to indicate that the physician had given his pills only to two young ladies about to marry. And I hereby offer to contribute \$500 to Mr. B's favorite charity—you editors can be the judges—if he can show otherwise. If the facts are as Mr. B. alleges, they were certainly not in evidence at the time.

Indeed there is plenty of internal evidence to the contrary. Does any journalist think the wire services would have sent out a story about a doctor giving pills to two brides-to-be? What on earth is newsworthy about such an everyday procedure? And what paper—including those who use boiler-plate fillers—would have printed it?...

I enclose the column Mr. B. refers to, and suggest, in the interest of fair play, that you run it together with my rebuttal, so that the reader may judge for himself.

You will note that the girls' college item is but a paragraph in an essay whose main thrust Mr. B. ignored. The other items were not even mentioned, an omission I suggest is, to quote Mr. B., "something less than a meticulous rendering of the known facts."

The column enclosed was dated October 6-7, 1965. It ran seventeen paragraphs, the third from the last of which contained the passage quoted by Bagdikian.

The Ryskind letter was referred to Bagdikian, who responded:

The AP despatch on the great pill hand-out described by Mr. Ryskind was slugged A65BX, Night Lead Birth Control, by Frank B. Merrick, Providence, R.I., Sept. 28 [1965]. Its lead was, "The Administration at Brown University backed up today the health service director who gave two unmarried coeds prescriptions for contraceptive pills."

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

The fourth paragraph reads, "Dr. Johnson said both women involved were 'mature people, already engaged and they both had been referred to me by clergy . . .'"

I don't know in what form this was printed in local papers Mr. Ryskind says he read it in and I won't bet him \$500 on the outcome since syndicate people have taught me to be a fiscal conservative in such matters. But I will bet him a cheap edition of *Little Women* that even in his papers' stories about the girls there was not one cotton-pickin' word saying anyone at the college thought "the college ought to connive at helping them in their off-campus affairs."

In the meantime, another letter, dated March 24, arrived from Mr. Ryskind. It said, in part:

I had seen only the first two paragraphs of B's reference to me . . . Now may I point out some false innuendoes in the third? . . .

The S[chool] of J[ournalism] taught me that a good reporter runs both sides of a story. And Herbert Swope of the old *World* — where I was a cub — held me fast to that rule.

I take it things have changed now. B. makes a "sweeping accusation," charging my columnar errors about the press ended my *L.A. Times* deal. Whether that scoop came from his private ouija board . . . or from the *Times* itself, shouldn't he have had my version, if only to refute it?

The remainder of the letter presented details of the termination of Mr. Ryskind's column-writing for the *Times* syndicate.

On April 3, Mr. Ryskind sent a third letter, suggesting that the AP story cited by Bagdikian indicated

"very strongly that there was a previous story." "Otherwise," he added, "why should Brown University back up its director if there had been no complaints?" The letter also enclosed a column, written for The Washington Star Syndicate, and dated March 29, 1967. It read, in part:

My private OGPU is made up of a stout group of devoted followers who comb every column of mine for possible errors . . . To these dedicated toilers, I am indebted for a definitive appraisal of my work which appeared in a recent Columbia University quarterly . . .

Mr. Ryskind then presented a summary of his column on the Sexual Revolution and quoted the paragraph on the pills.

The column concluded:

If the facts really are as now presented — and I suspect any alibi that comes a year late — they were certainly not "known" when that column appeared.

So put up or shut up, dear Critic. And \$500 says you're wrong. The defense rests.

The editors of the *Review* append the following observation:

There seemed to be reasonable doubt as to whether the qualifying information on the birth-control pills was available at the time Mr. Ryskind wrote his column. However, a check of the files of the *Los Angeles Times* shows that the AP story cited by Bagdikian appeared on page 2 of that newspaper on September 29, a week before the release date of the Ryskind column.

Blanket denial

Ralph de Toledano of King Features Syndicate has written to the *Review* as follows:

I note in your Winter 1966/1967 issue that Ben H. Bagdikian has again mentioned me in his series on the columnists. His previous comment, making some statistical judgments on the accuracy of my predictions, would have required an answer running to several thousand words, plus a recap of all the predictions I made.

Since I had no grant from the Dell Foundation to support me, I simply ignored the allegations. The current mention can be more briefly answered.

Mr. Bagdikian lists me as one of a group of columnists who "advised on strategy, wrote speeches, or found potential financial contributors for Barry Goldwater."

I did not advise Mr. Goldwater or his aides on strategy. I did not write any of Mr. Goldwater's speeches. And I did not find financial contributors for Mr. Goldwater. Other than that, Mr. Bagdikian is 100 per cent correct.

Had Mr. Bagdikian consulted me rather than his thumb, he might have gotten his facts straight. This is the procedure, I understand, that is taught at journalism schools.

Mr. Bagdikian, after consulting Mr. de Toledano, has replied:

The specific reference to a private role in the 1964 campaign appears to be an error, which I regret.

"Unwarranted"

Under the heading, "Unwarranted Attack on the Moss Committee," the annual report of the Freedom of Information Committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors commented on an article that had appeared in the

summer, 1966, issue of the *Review*: Robert O. Blanchard's "A Watchdog in Decline." It said:

... Blanchard attacked the Moss Government Information Subcommittee as "all but defunct" and added that media FoI committees aren't what they used to be either.

In our opinion, he was wrong about the Moss Committee.

The committee no longer fights mainly with well-publicized public hearings, because that is no longer the nature of the fight. But the complexion of the battle has not changed, as Blanchard charged, because a Democratic administration has come to power and Moss is the majority whip.

The new public records law itself is a milestone. And Moss assured us that there will be public hearings on it as soon as sufficient experience with it has accumulated.

As this report suggests, we found the Moss committee active on all major fronts: the White House, the Pentagon, Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, and many federal agencies, including NASA. In fact, whenever we referred cases to the committee which had already been reported in the press, we found that Congressman Moss and his assistant, Jack Matteson, were already investigating.

We examined Moss' official monthly committee reports for a year. Each month showed several instances of relatively important actions to unblock legitimate news, or to discourage efforts to suppress it.

In addition to these major actions covered in the files, an average of three minor cases are handled every week. These usually require only a telephone call or two, or brief correspondence. But they represent the most important day-to-day effort to keep government information channels open.

If the telephone call doesn't work, and Moss feels he has a good case, he goes to the public through the press. It is because he wins the important cases through these methods that there have been no recent formal committee hearings

into allegations of major news suppression. . . .

Because Blanchard was wrong in his attack on the Moss committee, and because, in our opinion, the media FoI committees are still respectably active, does not mean that the main FoI battle in Washington can be viewed with complaisance.

We are more inclined to the view of Sam Archibald, who was Moss' chief assistant on the committee for 11 years. In replying to the Blanchard attack, he wrote in the *Columbia Journalism Review*, fall, 1966, issue:

"The Moss committee exposed — and changed — the government information during the Eisenhower years. The problem facing the freedom of information movement today is the government's positive technique of guiding, managing, and manipulating the flow."

The author of the *Review* article, asked to comment on the ASNE criticisms, responded:

I welcome the comments about the *Review* article contained in the generally good ASNE report. The problems in checking ubiquitous government information abuses are too important to be limited to discussion from any one point of view.

My article was not an "attack" on the Foreign Operations and Government Information Subcommittee. It presented a case for more effective and aggressive congressional watchdogging of information policies and practices of any federal administration — no matter who is President or who are the leaders in Congress. Toward this end, it argued for a more independent FoI movement and press so that they may be effective watchdogs of any watchdog in either house of Congress and of any political party.

The ASNE FoI Committee, in assessing the article, does not address itself to this central theme. The FoI report quotes excerpts from Sam Archibald's letter to the *Review* to suggest that Archibald supports the FoI Committee's belief that my article was wrong. In

fact, the quotation in the FoI report is Archibald's summary of one of my article's major points, not a statement in reply to an "attack" on the information subcommittee. It is difficult to imagine how anything in Archibald's letter could be honestly quoted as support of the FoI Committee position.

Much can be said about what the Moss Committee could and should do to dramatize and publicize some of the information abuses in the present Administration. The best guide to what it could do is its history. The Moss Committee has always performed the traditional "errand boy" function (which the ASNE FoI Committee points to as evidence of the subcommittee's institutional immortality). Newsmen can receive this service from their local congressmen. What they cannot get from their congressman is that which comes from the power to investigate, to hire a staff to conduct research, to call in the resources of the General Accounting Office, to conduct hearings, to issue progress reports, to publish and dramatize FoI research and complaints. These are things the Moss Committee could do now and did do in the 1950's.

It would be perfectly consistent for the Moss Committee to call another press panel, for instance, as it did in the fall of 1955. This time, it would seem appropriate to invite to this panel journalists who have written about current information abuses of the present administration. Just as in the 1950's, the subcommittee could follow up the hearings with a report identifying the major problems and laying out a plan of action to attack information abuses of the 1960's.

To assist the Foreign Operations and Government Information Subcommittee, the ASNE FoI Committee should pursue its commendable plans to beef up press support of FoI research. This will be a vigorous step toward creating that important respectful distance a free press needs between itself and all governmental institutions, including Congress.

ROBERT O. BLANCHARD

Spring, 1967 59

the lower case

I'd rather do it myself

Startling development in headline of Chicago Tribune, March 16, 1967:

LODGE REPLACED BY LBJ

Subverted

The Los Angeles Times of January 27, 1967, unkindly inserted a contradictory cartoon from the Philadelphia Bulletin in the heart of Barry Goldwater's column:

Let's Untie the GIs' Hands

BY BARRY GOLDWATER

SAIGON (Delayed)—This war is being fought with one hand tied behind our back. The enemy is being given a sanctuary and enough political advantage to make it worth his while to keep the fighting going, perhaps indefinitely.

We have the means and the men to win a convincing military victory here if—and this is one of history's big "ifs"—we have the will to win it.

Those are some of the strongest impressions that a visit here reinforces. In the weeks ahead, after my return to the United States, I intend to do my best to bring these matters to the attention of all who will listen, particularly to all who can do something to speed us to the victory which would end this cruel and wasteful war.

★

The matter of our fighting with one hand tied behind our back is crucial. It applies, especially, to our air operations.

Our pilots are still being subjected to the closest possible political control from Washington rather than being permitted to exploit tactical targets of opportunity which, in a war one intends to win, should be open to their attack when they become apparent—not after first checking with Washington, which usually means a refusal or that it is too late even if approval is given.

The enemy exploits this weakness for all it is worth. Knowing, for instance, that Washington has become increasingly sensitive to civilian

The political control of our tactical air strikes is just one example of sanctuary we are giving the enemy. Sparing his major supply routes, such as the port of Haiphong, creates another.

Every such sanctuary is exploited by the enemy toward the direct purpose of prolonging the war, wearing us out, grinding us down and exacting a bloodier toll of our forces. We pay a terrible price for such sanctuary, and the gains are all on the other side in net effect.

Another sanctuary is the political advantage we have handed the ene-



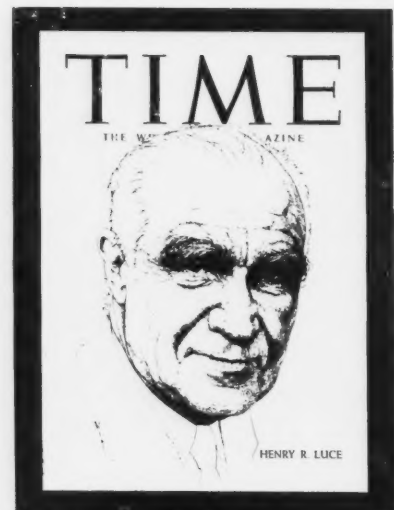
"And if I were President—I wouldn't hold you fellas back."

Unpredictable

From The Wall Street Journal, March 2, 1967:

...recongestant spray into every 15-minutes for 34 days; it costs \$19.95. . . . The late Henry Luce, founder of Time, won't appear on the magazine's cover next week; Mr. Luce, who died Tuesday, said some years ago that he never wanted such publicity.

Time's cover, March 10, 1967:



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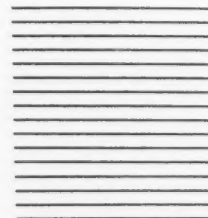
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Interviewing a disembodied voice

Reproduced below are parts of the instructions from record for radio broadcast, "A Conversation with Gunther Schuller," distributed by the Radio Corporation of America:

commercial on-minute program, but "c" as a five-minute program, between commercials, or the two together as a fifteen-minute program, and so on.

THE TECHNIQUE

These interviews were conducted ad lib by a skilled professional and have been edited and planned so that you may inject your own style and flavor into the handling of your end of the conversation.

The enclosed script includes your questions in regular typescript and Mr. Schuller's answers in all capitals. The record gives Mr. Schuller's answers only—spaced a little less than a second apart.

Start the turntable and cue the record up to Mr. Schuller's first speech. Leave the turntable running and hand hold the record. Then read the first question, release the record and Mr. Schuller will answer. Hand hold the record after his speech, read the second question, let the record go for the answer—and so on through the interview. The music following the interview is also separated by a space of a little less than a second, and the same hand-holding technique may be employed while you read your lead in to the selection.

A COUPLE OF TIPS

Even if you have used this technique before, it is important that you rehearse each interview before you put it on the air. In fact, experience has shown that those who use these interviews to best effect pre-tape the composite conversation in advance; this eliminates the possibility of technical error and makes for a more relaxed, natural performance.

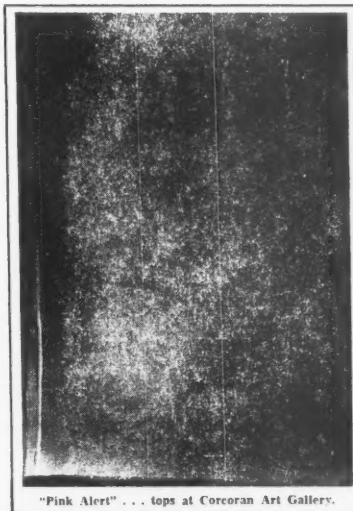
Naturalness should be the keynote. Always leave your own microphone open during Mr. Schuller's recorded replies, and chime in with words of agreement, or any natural reaction you might have. Gunther Schuller in person is a marvelous conversationalist and his knowledge of his subject so extensive that his answers are occasionally on the long side, so it will improve the over-all sound of the interview if you interpolate natural reactions of laughter, agreement and semi-interruptions as he talks. Expressions such as "That's right," "Wonderful," "That's very interesting" and "Please do" are in order—and don't hesitate to use your own idiom. Remember, these interviews were originally done ad lib; Gunther Schuller's performance in his replies demonstrates this. It is important for you to match his attitude and not just read your part of the conversation as merely so many words. Rehearsing and pre-taping will make a big difference in the impact of what appears on the air.

ONE CAUTION

This is not an attempt on our part to "fool" the public into thinking that Mr. Schuller is actually sitting in the studio with you. Instead, at the beginning of your program we suggest that you state simply that the interview has been pre-taped, which is no more and no less than the fact of the matter. And should you receive any phone calls or inquiries after the program has been on the air, we suggest you answer along the same line.

Technological gap

The Washington Post for February 25, 1967, and a few other papers did their best to reproduce a prize-winning painting in the Corcoran Gallery. It was called "Pink Alert" and it came out like this:



"Pink Alert" . . . tops at Corcoran Art Gallery.

Coincidence department

A story from New Orleans by Jerry Cohen and Nicholas C. Chriss in the Los Angeles Times of March 12, 1967, contained the following paragraphs:

in the community.

"All of the people really acquainted with Clay have known for years about his private life," said an exquisitely groomed matron, who counts herself among his friends.

"In New Orleans, people are uncommonly tolerant. As long as you give good parties and are invited to the best homes, you are accepted.

A story by the same authors in The Reporter magazine for April 6 restated it as follows:

As one distinguished New Orleans gentleman who counted himself among Shaw's friends explained over a brandy: "All the people really acquainted with Clay have known for years about his private life. In New Orleans people are uncommonly tolerant. As long as you give good parties and are invited into the best homes, you are accepted." Symptom-

A CONCISE BARTLETT'S FOR JOURNALISTS

The curse of the columnist is in the limitations of his column. Eight hundred words are too many for the ipse dixit stuff, obiter dicta and mere emphatic assertion, and too few for evidence and documentation to support a reasoned argument on a controversial subject. He therefore either gargles generalities or bogs down in dubious formulas and statistics. — *Robert Moses, to a gathering of fellow columnists in New York, May 14.*

I'll never forget the night I saw that. It was on WSB, Channel 3, on April 30th at 11 p.m. — *Mrs. A. Landon Morrow of La Grange, Georgia, after seeing her son wounded in a Viet Nam war news film before official notification (as quoted by The Associated Press).*

The advertisers have been allowed to run riot, to occupy four fifths of your space, to contribute four fifths of your revenue. After the first page or two, in the typical American paper, all you get is a rivulet of news flowing sluggishly by a wide meadow which has been leased to some department store or supermarket. — *Cecil H. King, British press magnate, to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, April 21, 1967.*

We, the viewers of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Nielsen sample, establish living color, insure domestic insensibility, provide for the common offense, promote twice as much anti-perspirant power, and secure the blessings of the new washday miracle to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this brief message from our sponsor. — *Russell Baker, in column of "American documents, revised for the late twentieth-century man," The New York Times, April 13, 1967.*

If the quality of any human endeavor ever becomes the touchstone for the space we devote to it, we will be hard put to fill our pages every week. — *Lester Bernstein, executive editor of Newsweek, commenting on reports the magazine would drop its radio-TV section, in Broadcasting February 6, 1967.*

Today 4,648 students in Johnson High School pursued their studies intelligently and industriously. Meanwhile, one of their classmates killed the principal. — *Montgomery J. Curtis, former executive director of the American Press Institute, offering an ideal news lead in response to complaint that newspapers fail to emphasize affirmative news.*

